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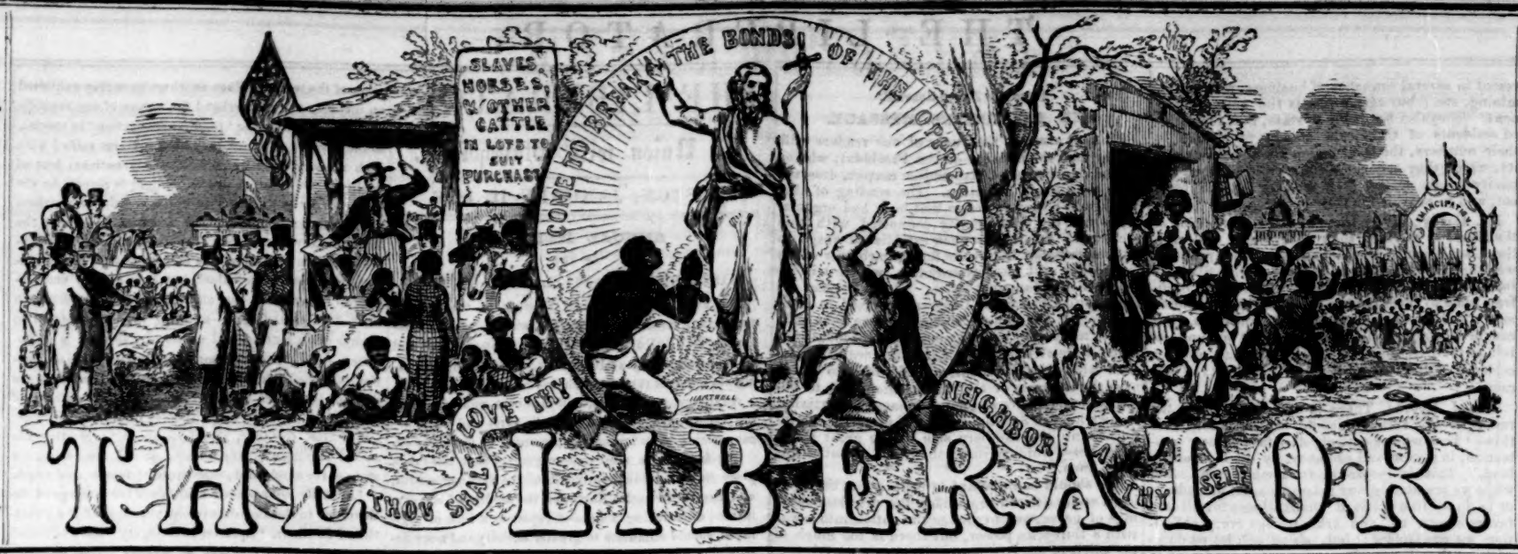
☞ In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.


SLAVES, HORSES, MOTHER CATTLE IS LOTD TO SUIT PURCHAST
COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'YES! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—*John Quincy Adams.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

PERSONAL LIBERTY BILL.

Extract from the message of Gov. Gardner to the Legislature of Massachusetts :—

The power conferred by the Constitution of our State upon its chief executive magistrate, of vetoing the acts of the legislature, is granted in general terms, without limitation as to cause, and has frequently been exercised by many of my predecessors. It has long been the opinion, however, of some of our most eminent statesmen, that the true theory of republican government, and a wise statesmanship, inculcate, that except where the executive is convinced of the unconstitutionality of the measure proposed, or in the event of evidently hasty and ill-considered legislation, the deliberate desire of the immediate representatives of the people should not be thwarted by the interposition of the veto power.

Entertaining these views, I have heretofore given my approval, in some cases, to acts and resolves, the expediency of which I somewhat doubted, or which were merely declaratory of the sentiments of the legislature. This rule will continue to guide my action; but from all measures presented for my consideration, involving, in my deliberate judgment, constitutional doubts, I shall in the future, as I have heretofore, unhesitatingly withhold my sanction.

One act of this nature, notwithstanding the decided opinion of the Attorney General, that it was 'clearly repugnant to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States,' and 'that in his judgment the bill is in violation of the Constitution' of Massachusetts; notwithstanding it attempts, in express terms, to give the sanction of law to what our Supreme Court, in an opinion signed by all its Justices, in reply to a question propounded to them by the Executive, with the advice and consent of the Council, declared could not 'rightfully or legally' be done; notwithstanding also the consequent withholding of the Executive approval from it, became, by the requisite constitutional majorities, the law of Massachusetts.

The people of our State, knowing how essential a sacred observance of law is to the perpetuity of our, or any, republican institutions, recognizing the blessings derived from the Constitution of the United States, both for security at home and dignity abroad, unhesitatinglyackno wledge all their obligations to obey the requirements of that instrument. When one of the confederated States futilely attempted to nullify its powers, there was but one feeling of reprobation throughout all our borders. The ablest statesman Massachusetts ever *intrusted* with her interests on the floors of Congress, by his successful maintenance of the paramount authority of the Constitution of the United States, displayed a comprehensiveness of statesmanship which was even greater than the majestic eloquence with which he vindicated his position.

The passage of this act is deeply to be deplored, because 'it asserts or looks to the maintenance of rights not clearly and constitutionally ours,' which course of action, in my inaugural address, I strenuously urged the last legislature to avoid—because it weakens the moral effect of the influence of our State—because it sets an example, which, if followed by other members of the confederacy, will most certainly destroy our only bond of union—and because it tends to an armed conflict between the State and the national governments. Either this law must remain a dead letter on our statute book, unenforced when the hour of trial comes, thus reducing Massachusetts to the humiliating position of enacting a law she has not the courage to enforce, or else, if the attempt is made, it must be supported by the whole military array of the State in direct and immediate conflict with the army of the United States. There is no alternative but submission or open war.

While Massachusetts will be loyal to her constitutional obligations, she demands that all her constitutional rights shall be respected. She asks the fulfilment of national compacts, the faithful performance of the sacred agreements of the fathers, and, though the act referred to has temporarily diminished the moral weight of this demand, its repeal will go far towards giving her voice its former power. Her people, in common with the entire North, and many at the South, believing slavery to be a moral, social and political evil, claim no power to interfere with it in those States where by local law it exists; but they demand, by a united voice in both branches of Congress, and by almost as united a sentiment at home, that it shall not be suffered to extend itself into those territories where by solemn covenant our nation has stipulated that it should never enter. The dispassionate judgment of our citizens will at once teach them that this end, so much to be desired, cannot be promoted, but, on the contrary, must be seriously retarded, by the passage, or continuance on our statute-book, of a law of acknowledged unconstitutionality.

I therefore recommend that so much of this act, entitled, 'An Act to Protect the Rights and Liberties of the People of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,' as may conflict with the Constitution of the United States, and all laws made in pursuance thereof, be repealed."

THE TRIBUNE AND DR. HOLMES.

The New York *Tribune* is in spasms about Dr. Holmes's oration before the New England Society there, because the doctor doubted the wisdom of rabid abolitionism. The abolitionists introduce their views, and inculcate their notions, everywhere, in every manner, and on all occasions—in novels, in prose, in poetry, in sermons, in lectures, in orations—indeed they cannot open their mouths without dropping a bit of 'nigger' which they are constantly rolling, like a sweet morsel, under their tongues. But a syllable on the other side throws them into hysterics at once, and they froth like chafed toads. The *Tribune* not only attempts to be excruciatingly satirical upon the orator, but, in a Miss Nancy way, turns up the whites of its eyes, and rolls up its thick lips at the 'provincial' town of Boston. What mighty metropolis gave birth to Horace Greeley, or to any of the hundred and one newspaper scavengers who empty their swill into the trough of the *Tribune*? Then, again, Dr. Holmes is taunted with possessing but small capital as a wit, and with being an anatomist! If the doctor had no more wit than the *Tribune* has honesty, he would be declared insolvent immediately, unable to pay value received for a single smile. The *Tribune* had better draw in its woolly head, take its long heels out of the way, and crop its ears, lest its unseemly appearance invite the doctor's investigation of its hybrid 'anatomy.'—*Boston Post.*

☞ Dr. Holmes is welcome to such a backer as that venal, parasitical, *purchased* tool of the Slave Oligarchy,—the *Post*. The old adage, 'Birds of a feather,' &c., herein receives fresh confirmation.

SELECTIONS.

THE POSITION OF YOUNG WOMEN.

Extract from the new and interesting volume, just published by John P. Jewett & Co., Boston, entitled 'Glances and Glimpses; or, Fifty Years Social, including Twenty Years Professional Life; by Harriot K. Hunt, M. D.'

I have a purpose here, I cherish a hope to arouse public thought respecting the position of our young women after they have left school. Their parents—many of them—are in only moderate circumstances. They have toiled early and late to procure the education of their daughters; and, if they were truly parents, they should desire to see some worthy result follow that education,—to see it practically applied to the business of life. Alas! what is the truth on this subject? Girls are educated—for what? They are sedulously trained—for what? For nothing but marriage! They are early taught to consider what are their chances and attractions for the market! I say the market,—for I have no more scruple in applying this term to the state of society with regard to women, than I have in applying it to the marts where any other purchasable article is bought and sold. In Circassia, they tell us, women are trained with a sole view to the piastres they shall bring when sold to a Turkish harem; and, what is worse, they are degraded to consider such training honorable. I charge it on society that women are generally educated with a view to their future sale for wealth, social position, a home, or any other terms on which a dependent and ambitious, a weak and silly woman, may be obtained; and as systematically as in the East, they are taught to believe this training reputable! Now I see no possible reason why young women, unless they are absolutely needed in the domestic circle,—and even then, self-reliance should be taught them,—should not be trained to some healthful, remunerative employment. To say nothing of its beneficial effects on their own character, or of the independent position it would give them in society, such employment would often enable them to sustain their parents by their own earnings,—when the chances and changes of life have brought reverses to the home, and to gladden the declining years of those parents with comforts, too often wanting now. Daughters would then be capable of rendering assistance, as well as sons. Within my own knowledge, fathers with families of daughters lament the loss of a son because 'girls are so expensive!' Think of it! This constant keeping back our sex from an early, active participation in the duties of life, has been the means of throwing upon many a father with a family of daughters, a burden he was utterly unable to bear.

He has given them money, hardly earned by toilsome and anxious hours—perhaps a creditor needed it;—but they must appear well at the party—they must make their market! Hard-working, kind-hearted, but injudicious mothers, are hid away in the kitchen, that silly daughters may be flauntingly dressed in the parlor, thrumming tunes without a touch of melody, for the entertainment of Mr. Bombastes! How many of these cases are around us! They are heartless deceptions, and outrages on womanhood. Too many of these poor children marry, and return to their parents, broken-hearted through the failure of their husbands, (many of whom never had any thing to fail on,) or penniless widows with children who sorrowfully increase their care in old age. Such heart-histories appeal powerfully to our sympathies, while they rouse our indignation at the degradation and uselessness of our sex. I wish I could touch this subject with the pen of inspiration. I look around the early home of my childhood, and my heart sickens; whole families nearly swept away by false and perverted views! young, bright, promising school-girls, dwarfed into young ladies, and the flag hoisted that they are to be sold to the highest bidder! The matter is made still worse by the conditions of the sale; for sobriety, chastity, principle, character, are not required in the purchaser,—he only need have wealth, show, or bravado. I could be personal here, and bring out harrowing cases; but let them pass. Let the reader glance around his own neighborhood, and say whether I speak the truth or not. Go to Washington street in Boston, go to the main street of any of our great cities, and in the silly, coquettish, over-dressed, fashionable young ladies, promenading to and fro for the purpose of being seen, behold another phase of this abominable social marketing. Can hotel-life promote family growth? Can auction sales of furniture, changed to suit the caprices of fashion, and often at the expense of the poor mechanic, contribute to domestic happiness, or inculcate habits of prudence and economy? Do they not indicate an incapacity for home duties,—a miasmatic indolence in these purchased wives?

This pernicious evil is to be charged on society. It is not, as many suppose, charging it on an intangibility. Is not society an aggregation of individuals! and is not this to be charged on those individuals separately and collectively? May it not be affirmed that the prevalent custom of educating young women only for marriage, and not for the duties and responsibilities consequent on marriage—only for appendages and dead weights to husbands—of bringing them up without an occupation, profession, or employment, and thus leaving them dependent on anybody but themselves—is an enormous evil, and an unpardonable sin? In the name of my sex, a protest should be issued against the fashionable education fathers and mothers give their daughters, encouraging them to acquire those peacock accomplishments, those shallow charms of conversation, and those personal airs, manners, and graces which they are pleased to term 'attractions,' in order that they may catch the fancy of some wealthy simpleton or arrant knave, and so win a husband! It is educating their daughters for what is not marriage in any worthy sense of that word. Yes, their protest, earnest, solemn, touching, should be entered against the custom of bringing up young women who are to become wives and mothers, without a knowledge of those domestic duties and responsibilities, which alone can fit them to live true to those relations, without those solid intellectual attainments and spiritual graces, by which they are to educate their children and hallow the atmosphere of home; and without those 'attractions,'—enduring when youth and beauty are gone, which can alone win and keep for them the respect and love of any sensible, upright, and noble man, worthy the name of husband! against the wrong done to young women, who may never enter the marriage state, by giving them no trade, occupation, or profession, and thus leaving them to idleness, dependence, helplessness, and temptation. Let every girl see to it that she has the means of her own support. The remedy for the evil of which I have here spoken, is in the hands of every daughter and every parent. It is a crying evil. It is one of the Upas-trees which are poisoning society, and beneath its pestilential branches the health, the happiness, and the comfort of whole families are withered. You have the axe, and the root lies bare—strike courageously in faith, and a resurrection will follow. It *must* soon be seen that bringing up daughters for nothing but marriage, mingles poison in the cup of domestic life, is traitorous to the virtue of both sexes, for neither suffers alone—is adverse to happiness, to the development of conscience and to religion, and introduces to the dwellings of wretchedness and despair. The result of this degradation is pride, intemperance, licentiousness—nay, every vice, misery, and degradation. When labor becomes honorable and elevating—when we realize that labor is the charm to stay this fiend, and the pride from which it had its origin and sustenance, dies at the awakening of the sense of our relation to human kind, and our responsibility to God. Then will every woman prepare herself for useful occupation, and follow it. Then will man see that industrial avenues are open to women—that they can follow any business or profession for which they are qualified, without being exposed to contemptible insults which are heaped upon those who have independence enough to step out of the beaten track.

There are women who have wealth, and who may be supposed to have nothing to do with this subject—occupation for woman. But it is not so. They have a great deal to do with it. Responsibility rests on them, as on every one. *Wealth has never given happiness, except through its use.* The moment luxury is its use, that moment diseases of mind and body lay hands on their victims. How can the physique be braced, if no fresh breath from the outer world is suffered to permeate the languid, enervating air of the drawing-room? How can the grasp of the mind be vigorous, without action? Daughters of inherited wealth, or accumulated labor! the wide door of philanthropy is open peculiarly to *you!* Your life-work lies beyond your threshold: your wealth has placed you above the sorrowful struggle for daily bread which takes up the whole time of so many of your brothers and your sisters. You are the almoners of God. A double accountability is yours. There are sufferings around you which you can alleviate or remove. There are heavy burdens which you can lighten. There is ignorance which you can illumine. There are the poor who look to you for solace and for aid.

You are liberally endowed; are you to use these gifts and powers for those only, who have had the same advantages as yourselves? No! If you can find nothing else to do, let each of you find out some child, poor in purse, but rich in soul, as all children are before the world makes them bankrupt; and with a holy and generous self-denial, lay aside a certain sum of money each month, for that child's culture. Educate—carry that child forward! Ultimate your life in that child. Bring philosophy to your investigation of the mystery of existence; it will show you, at least, that it is impossible for you to enjoy physical health and spiritual life, if you pass your time in sleeping, eating, drinking, dressing, reading, flirting, or any thing that is only for your own gratification. Nor will these occupations prepare you for the life to come. If you are not wholly insensible, you will thank me for these hints;—use them! Your duty is to minister to the sorrows, the privations, the wants, and the needs around you. Show the world that there are Florence Nightingales for the sad army of the suffering and the poor! Make it your life-work 'to attend to the neglected, and to remember the forgotten!' Money! money! Rely upon that for happiness! Possession adds to your responsibilities, if you look at it rightly. It elevates you—it gives your life dignity and nobleness, if you use it as a trust! Used otherwise, it is useless. A fixed purpose in the mind of every young woman, rich and poor, when entering on the theatre of life, would open the mind to an understanding of the Divine Word—'Lead us not into temptation'—for idleness is the greatest temptation to selfishness, and selfishness is the ruin of the individual, and the cause of three fourths of the misery in the world.

From the Ohio State Journal.

LET THE SCOUNDREL BE REMOVED.

When the territorial government of Kansas was organized, the President appointed one H. S. Woodson, a Southern pro-slavery locofoco, as Secretary of the Territory. This man, from the first, has manifested the most vindictive spirit, and has omitted no occasion to vent his wrath upon the free State settlers of Kansas. When the President removed Reeder, because he would not do the bidding of the Missouri mob, this man Woodson was, by law, the acting Governor. While in that position, he sanctioned all the vile, outrageous acts which were passed for the purpose of oppressing, and, if possible, driving off the Free State men. Among these acts was the one punishing with fine and imprisonment any person who should publicly declare that slaves could not be legally held in Kansas. He also sanctioned the act which took from the settlers and gave to this mock Legislature the election of all county officers, sheriffs, &c., down to justices of the peace, and assessors. These elections of the Missouri Legislature were for *five years*; and now all these officers that are in the Territory, hold their commission, not from the people, but from this Missouri mob.

The bare fact that he conspired with these scoundrels to oppress and outrage the people of Kansas, by the passage of such laws, ought to have caused his instant removal by the President. We do not know of a more grave offence, except it be that of attempting to induce the people of Missouri to go over in armed bands to murder the very people that he was sent to protect.

To show the vindictive, devilish spirit which actuates this appointee of President Pierce, we copy a few of the despatches he has lately sent to the Missouri border ruffians, invoking their aid to carry out the hellish work in which he is engaged. Read the following, which came to us in the papers from the West :—

INDEPENDENCE, Dec. 3.

TO GEN. SHIELDS :—Jones will not make a move until there is sufficient force in the field to insure success. You will, therefore, urge all who are interested in the matter to start immediately for the seat of war. There is no doubt now in regard to having a fight.

We all know that a great many have complained because they were disappointed when here before in regard to a fight. Say to them, now is the time to show game; and if we are defeated this time, the Territory is lost to the South.

An express has just started from Liberty. They have raised but sixty men in all. Our men are in great danger, and it is expected that Jackson, Lafayette and Saline will come to the rescue. Send in your men.

S. H. WOODSON.

This Jones is the sheriff elected by the Missouri mob, to lord it over the settlers of Douglas County for five years.

We call the attention of our readers to the fiendish character of the second paragraph. These Missouri border ruffians were greatly disappointed because they did not have a fight, when they invaded the Territory 'before'; in other words, when they went over to do the voting for the settlers, last spring. But this government appointee tells them to come on now, as '*there is no doubt now in regard to having a fight.*' Where shall we look to find a parallel for such blood-thirsty scoundrelism?

INDEPENDENCE, Dec. 4—3 o'clock, P. M.

TO MR. W. MUSGROVE :—Gov. Shannon has issued writs for the arrest of every one found in arms. Judge Johnson, of the Territory, has been arrested by our boys.

There are probably 300 men at the seat of war waiting for reinforcements. We will have 600 all told tonight. No attack on Lawrence will be made until additional reinforcements arrive. Let Lafayette show her hand. Urge all you can to come. Come one, come all! S. H. WOODSON.

This Judge Johnson is from Ohio, and was formerly a Senator from the Southern portion of the State. He, with Parrot and Goodin, was a prominent Locofoco, and upheld the present Administration in its Kansas-Nebraska policy.

INDEPENDENCE, Dec. 6—8, A. M.

TO GEN. SHIELDS :—Limerick and Lightner are here from Lawrence, where they slept night before last. Six hundred Abolitionists in arms there. One thousand men at Jones's camp. The matter expected to be settled to-morrow or next day. Tell the volunteers to come on. S. H. WOODSON.

What a sight is here presented to the American people! The Secretary of Kansas, sent there by law to protect the rights and interests of the people, has basely conspired against them, and is using all his influence to destroy them, or drive them from their homes. He has left Kansas, and taken up his station in a large town in Missouri. There is a line of telegraph from that place, and he is spending his time in sending such messages as we have quoted to the pro-slavery ruffians of Western Missouri. He urges them to leave their own State, and to invade Kansas with deadly weapons, for the purpose of getting up a 'fight' with the settlers. Such is the position which this man occupies to the people of the Territory and the Union.

And now, on behalf of the people who are outraged by such conduct, who are humiliated in the eyes of the civilized world, and disgraced by every hour this Woodson is permitted to hold an office from the President of the Republic, we ask, we DEMAND, his immediate removal. We point to the above despatches as conclusive evidence of his guilt and infamy. We shall see whether the President will sanction such conduct by retaining him in office.

From the Worcester Spy.

THE REMOVAL OF SHANNON.

There is just one act of the national executive, the performance of which would immediately set all matters right in Kansas. That is, the removal of Wilson Shannon from the Governorship of the territory, and the appointment of a man like Reeder in his place. In that case, by affording him the military aid, as well as the pecuniary resources of the general government, in support of the laws, according to the provisions of the Nebraska-Kansas Bill itself, the President might effectually put an instant termination to all disturbances. The ruffian invaders from Missouri, whose depredatory incursions into the territory have produced all the difficulties there, would quail with terror, the moment they saw the arm of the general government against them. It is only because their acts are connived at and approved by the powers that be, that they persevere in the perpetration of such diabolical schemes.

The nomination of Shannon, it is understood, is now before the Senate for confirmation. Upon what principle any Northern man in that body can vote to confirm the appointment of such a scoundrel, for a position, the functions of which he has so foully perverted, we are at a loss to conceive. Until the deed is consummated, we shall be unwilling to believe that a majority, even of so hunkerish a body as the Senate of the United States, can be brought to sanction so infamous an act. Let the name of Wilson Shannon, with the threats and oaths he has uttered against freedom, and law, and order, in Kansas, and his secret machinations with Atchison and his Missouri ruffians, to subvert popular rights and 'popular sovereignty' in the territory, be thrown back in the face of the President, accompanied with the indignant scorn of every Senator, who sets any value upon official integrity and official honor. If Franklin Pierce can find no more decent person than Wilson Shannon, to be his agent and representative in Kansas, then let the President repair there himself, and head the regiments of the invading ruffians in his own person. A pretty figure he might cut there, with Atchison and Stringfellow for his aids, provided he would not *faint* in the attempt to add to his military renown by any new display of feats of horsemanship, in his illustrious foray against the right of actual settlers in the territory to the undisturbed management of their own affairs.

From the National Era.

THE SLAVE OLIGARCHY IN CONGRESS.

The Slave Oligarchy, composed of Southern members and Northern adherents of the slaveholding caste, have everything their own way.

Of twenty-six chairmen, sixteen are slaveholders, and seven, slaveholding adherents. Of the three remaining, Hamlin is anti-slavery, Allen is a quietest, James, uncertain. In a word, among the chairmen of the twenty-six standing committees, the views and interests of the free States in relation to slavery, comprising, as they do, more than two-thirds of the free population of the country, are represented by a single man!

This is what they call—'Nationality!'

The Oligarchy has taken special pains to secure the most important committees. For example: Mason, author of the Fugitive Slave Bill, is chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, backed up by Weller, Slidell, and Douglas, all pro-Russian and pro-Cuban heroes. Hunter, of Virginia, is chairman of the Committee on Finance, Weller, of that on Military Affairs, on which we find Fitzpatrick, Jones of Tennessee, Johnson, Iverson and Pratt, all ultra slavery men; Mallory, Naval Affairs; Sebastian, Indian Affairs; with Bell, Brown, Ried, Rusk, and Toombs, all slaveholders: Butler, the Judiciary; with Geyer, Bayard, Toombs and Toucey, to make all sure; Rusk, Post Office and Post Roads; Brown, District of Columbia, with Mason, Pratt, and Ried, all slaveholders, against one from the free States, Mr. Allen; Pearce, Library, with Mr. Bayard, constituting a majority, enough to keep the Library of Congress pure and undefiled.

Beautiful 'Nationality!'

The humble adherents of the Oligarchy, it will be observed, are generally placed in subordinate positions, except in a few cases where signal services demanded special honor.

It is curious to notice the disposition made of the Republican members of the Senate. For the present, we reckon in this class, Fessenden, of Maine, Bell and Hale, of New Hampshire, Foote and Collamer, of Vermont, Sumner and Wilson, of Massachusetts, Foster, of Connecticut, Seward, of New York, Wade, of Ohio, Trumbull, of Illinois, Durkee, of Wisconsin, Harlan, of Iowa. Some of them are veteran statesmen, all men of decided abilities, capable of rendering the most important services in the work of legislation. In fact, it would be difficult to select any other fourteen men of the Senate equal to them in aggregate talent.

Now, let us see where 'Nationality' has put them. Mr. Seward stands third in the Committee on Commerce, next to last in the Committee on Pensions, the last being reserved for Mr. Sumner, whose name appears on no other Committee; while Mr. Stuart of Michigan, is chairman of one important Committee, and a member of three others! Harlan, Trumbull, and Wilson are stowed away in the Committee on Manufactures, of no kind of importance. Wade foots up the useless on Agriculture. Bell stands third on the Committee on the Militia, not very dangerous to the Commonwealth; Foster third on Private Land Claims. In a word, generally, where there is some drudgery of details, with little honor, and no influence on general interests or politics, there you will find the places of the Republicans.

So much for 'Nationality,'—the 'Nationality' so highly prized by the Hunts and Hillards of the North—a 'Nationality' whose essential element, whose beginning and end is, *devotion to Slavery.*

From the Sacramento Tribune, of Nov. 21.

PROCEEDINGS OF A COLORED CONVENTION AT SACRAMENTO.

This Convention, composed of delegates from the different Counties throughout the State, appointed to meet at Sacramento, on Tuesday, Nov. 20th, 1855, for the purpose of devising ways and means to elevate their present social and political condition, &c., met according to appointment yesterday, at 10 A. M., in the church on Seventh street, near H street.

Mr. Jacob Francis, of San Francisco, was called to the Chair, and Mr. Vanneil appointed Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Townsend, of San Francisco, a committee of five was appointed to examine the credentials of delegates.

The committee reported that they had examined the credentials of delegates from the different counties, and found the following to be correct:

From El Dorado County there were present 10 members; Coloma, 2; Sacramento, 10; Yuba, 2; San Francisco, 16; Contra Costa, 1; Santa Clara, 1; Nevada, 3; San Joaquin, 1; Sierra, 1. Whole number of delegates, 47.

Rev. Mr. Moore, of San Francisco—The subject upon which we are about to deliberate is one which interests all classes—interests both races; and I do sincerely trust that, keeping in view its great importance, we may put aside all lesser considerations—all party, all personal piques and preferences—giving ourselves up earnestly as men to its accomplishment. Do not let us disgrace ourselves—do not let those who deny us the possession of intellect and soul have so great a triumph as to see us meeting thus for a noble purpose, and failing, because we cannot govern our passions. Let us rather prove to them that we have all the nerve and energy necessary to complete as well as the brain to plan a work of moral regeneration. We are Americans—colored Yankees—and we are as proud of the soil of America as those who boast loudest of their love.

Mr. Yates—I will say to this Convention, in the language of a celebrated divine, who, in a prayer before the early Congress of the States, in the stormy days of Revolution, prayed for unity among the people, and that, 'while they were many as the waves, they might be one as the sea.' We are to know but one purpose, act together for the attainment of one object.

While I acknowledge that in form, appearance and education, the African cannot compete with the Caucasian race, yet his sympathies are as warm and his feelings as humane. He can be grateful for kindness shown, and is as ready to forgive the injuries done him—he loves his country as dearly as they. I was raised and educated by the white man, and I thank the hand that reared me. I love the soil that nurtured me: so do we all; and if we seek for patriotism and love of country, where should it be found stronger or warmer than in our own bosoms!

Mr. Wilson, of Sacramento—No gentleman must feel insulted if I, or any other of our fellow-members, happen to express a different opinion from his own, in a manner which, to his cold, unimpassioned soul, may seem unduly earnest and excited. Men are differently constituted, and while some seem scarcely moved by the mightiest subjects, others will feel an intense excitement upon subjects the most trivial. The same God that made a diversity of colors, hues, kinds and conditions, has seen proper to make minds of different orders and divers temperaments.

[Mr. Ward made some very sensible remarks concerning the relative conditions of the white and colored races, and ended by saying:]

'The great Sebastopol against which we are struggling is local prejudice. Let us bring up the battalions of reason, truth and justice, and show the world the injustice of its prejudice and the falsehood of its oft-repeated taunt that we are but a connecting link between the monkey and the man. Let us prove to the world that we have capacities and ambitions for the enjoyment of a much more elevated sphere than that in which we have so long grovelled.'

Mr. Sanderson, of Sacramento, being called, said: 'I am no orator as Brutus is;' but I cannot forbear expressing my heartfelt interest in the work before us. On hearing that there was to be a Convention of Colored Persons held in this city, my heart was glad, for I felt that it was to be the first step in the great march of improvement; and perhaps no other subject is creating so much interest in the community as the efforts which the colored race is making for its advancement and social elevation.

Mr. Stokes, of San Francisco, was then called, and said: The several distinguished speakers who have preceded me, have said all I could have said, and much abler than my humble ability could have said it. After them, I feel like another Alexander without one world to conquer. The very fact of our being here to-day under the sanction of public opinion, and the protection of the law, to express ourselves freely, and deliberate upon measures for our own good, is to me an evidence that a brighter destiny is before us. It is but a few years since all this State was the abode of another race, who owned the soil, and roamed at will, with none to molest or make them afraid. The white man came, and we came with him; and, by the blessing of God, we will stay with him side by side; wherever he goes, we will go; and should another Sutter discover another El Dorado, be it where it may—north of the Carribean or south of it—no sooner shall the white man's foot be firmly planted there, than looking over his shoulder he will see the black man, like his shadow, by his side.

The Committee to nominate officers reported the following named persons to acts as officers of this Convention:

President—William H. Yates, of San Francisco.

Vice Presidents—J. Smallwood, of El Dorado; Denis Carter, of Nevada; Fielding Smithea, of Contra Costa; and Albert Vanneil, of Sierra.

Secretaries—Jeremiah Sanderson, of Sacramento; John H. Morris, of Tuolumne; and Frederick Barbados, of Contra Costa.

Chaplain—Rev. J. J. Moore.

On motion, a committee of two was appointed to wait upon Mr. Yates, and conduct him to the Chair, who, upon assuming the position, delivered a very interesting and eloquent address. He advised that the proceedings of the meeting be such as to reflect honor upon themselves and the glorious country that gave them birth. 'If there are feelings of liberty,' said he 'within the breasts of those present, who but the Caucasian race taught it to them? We love the soil that gave us life, and the country we call our home. Though we are wronged, we delight to call it mother.'

At the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Stokes, an article was read from the Grass Valley *Telegraph*, advocating a liberal policy to be pursued towards the colored people.

It was read amid considerable applause; and a motion was made to return a vote of thanks to the editor of the *Telegraph* for his independence in the matter, and after considerable discussion upon the propriety of so doing, it passed by a decided vote.

The *Evening Journal* of San Francisco was also included in the vote of thanks.

Mr. Newby, Chairman of the Business Committee, reported a preamble and resolutions, setting forth the wants of the colored people of this State, which report was received.

A motion was made to adopt the report of the Business Committee, which was opposed by Mr. Townsend, as it contained matter he could not subscribe to.

Mr. Townsend said the preamble was crouching in its present form. All he wanted was to present a manly, courteous, and dignified appeal to the Legislature to grant them what is simply just in their opinion. He believed by so doing they could command the respect of their white brethren.

Mr. Lewis endorsed the views of the last speaker.

Mr. Newby said it was much easier generally to find fault than commend—and the objections expressed by Mr. Townsend were to him about as clear as mud. All the preamble expressed was true, and simple to understand. He had not, in drawing it up, drawn largely upon Roman or Grecian history to illustrate it by quotations that are to be found in every school book, but it merely stated what was known to every man in the State. A case in point occurred last week in the United States Court in San Francisco. A man was tried for murder on the high sea: the only witness in the case was a negro, and the Court decided that his evidence could not be received, and the man was liberated, thus inflicting a great wrong upon white men by permitting a criminal to go at large, because he killed a man in presence of a negro, instead of a white man. This, he considered, was more of a wrong to the whites than to them.

Mr. Townsend said it was too late in the day to appeal to the prejudices of the people. It was the duty and right of the Convention to amend or reject the report of the Committee, if deemed proper. He was in favor of telling the people of California, in the simplest manner, whether it be in Grecian or Roman quotations, what they desired of them, and thought the Committee should not object to the adoption of anything that would best convey their desires.

Mr. Newby said: We are an oppressed race, and are subject to strong prejudice, which we are now seeking to overcome. When appealing to our oppressors, we want to do so in a manner that will have weight. The legislature that passed the act, doubtless acted—or a portion of them—from an honest principle, and he believed that they acted from what they believed to be a sense of duty.—He said the colored people were generally impolitic in all their actions in public matters, and often injured their own acts.

On motion, the whole matter under discussion was laid on the table.

Mr. Stokes: While, as a people, we are striving for our own advancement, and endeavoring to obtain a recognition in society as men, let us not, in the selfishness of our own plans, lose sight of other things, equally our duty. Look abroad upon the varied face of this favored country, and do we not see on the mountain top and in the valley, evils existing among our kind! sin stalking in the noonday, and no hand put forth to stop its progress! Let us first correct ourselves, and become worthy of respect, then the world will not hold its reward. One thing I have observed amongst our race, that while all are consumers, very few are producers. We see through this State very few colored farmers or mechanics or artizans: yet it can be proved we may become as proficient in these branches as other people. Still, there is no awakening to the importance of proving ourselves capable of conducting the affairs of business with skill and advantage. In this State there are over three and a half millions of property owned by the colored population: from this several hundred thousand dollars of tax is collected every year—we own mining claims valued at $30,000 per share—we have every advantage for unfolding whatever talent we may possess, and yet we are doing nothing. In other countries, there are mechanics and artizans whose proficiency has astonished the world. Here we have no energy. Why not have our stores, our banking houses, as others! If we have capacities, let them not sleep forever. This Convention is the initiatory step to this great end. The goal is before us—let us press on. If, like the Athenians, we sit over our feasts in fancied security, while Philip thunders at the city gates, we shall be defeated in all our desires. All we have gained will be lost. We shall soon possess no identity as a people—no place nor position. Why should we in California be behind our brethren of other States! In Massachusetts—that cradle of liberty—our cause has awakened much interest. The portals of society, so long closed, are being thrown open to us—there are colored ministers, and doctors, and lawyers—educated men. Yes, and men for us to be proud of, and thank God for! Is all this nothing! Is ascendancy in the great scale of moral being worth nothing! Are the means of intellectual advancement nothing to us, that we lie thus supinely on our backs, with folded hands, without one effort to elevate our moral, social and political condition? Let us begin by improving our position as laborers—let us plan and execute for ourselves. In western Pennsylvania and Ohio, some of the most extensive farmers are colored men. In Baltimore, my own city, I have seen wealthy

men among our own people—men who bought and sold by thousands. We must exert ourselves to accomplish something here. There is plenty of land for us to cultivate, but we must not delay, for the next year there will come to these Pacific shores thousands of men from the old world, and every vacant acre will be taken.

Mr. Stokes proceeded at some length to urge upon his brethren the advantages of immediate action, &c., and was followed by Mr. Lewis, who said: One of the most important things for our present consideration is to obtain the right to be heard upon oath in the courts of justice—this is the one thing needful. As it is, the law is to us a dead letter, a broken staff to lean upon. The oath that should protect life, liberty, and property, all that should throw the shield of law around ourselves and families, is denied us. Now we have no protection, and stand as nothing. The oath would make people careful how they act before us. We should then have a voice. As it is, we are scarcely recognized as human beings.

Mr. Ruggles: It is an injury to the white man as well as to ourselves, to deny us the right of being heard under oath. Justice is often checked in her course, and the guilty are suffered to escape because the only witnesses to their guilt are those upon whom the law has cast the stigma of being unworthy to be heard.

The Committee on Business reported the following preamble and resolutions, as the result of their labors:

Whereas, We, the colored people of the State of California, believing that the 14th section of the 'Statute concerning crimes and punishments,' prohibiting our testimony for or against any white person, to be unjust in itself, and oppressive to every class of the community; and whereas, we believe that the institution of careful inquiries into our social, moral, religious, intellectual and financial condition, will demonstrate that as a class—(making proper allowances for the disabilities under which we labor)—we compare favorably with any class in the community.

And whereas, We believe that this section was intended to protect white persons from a class, whose supposed social and intellectual condition was such as to justify the prohibition of its testimony; and whereas, we believe that an appeal to the Legislature, to convene in January, will meet with a favorable response from that honorable body, believing, as we do, that the above mentioned section cannot be maintained on the ground of policy or expediency—

Resolved, That the laws of evidence in judicial investigation should be accommodated to, and be identified with, the laws of the human mind; and that, therefore, every fact and circumstance, from whatever source it may come, having a tendency to throw light or induce human belief upon the subject under investigation, should be viewed, heard, and judged of, according to their relative weight and value, and of all the circumstances of credit or discredit connected with them.

Resolved, That past experience has abundantly shown that all attempts to establish artificial standards of credibility, depending on such tests as race, color, creed, or country, are as unwise as they are unjust; that they serve only on the one side, to obstruct the investigation of truth by the erection of useless barriers, and on the other to defraud the excluded classes, while at the same time they subject them, in their lives, in their persons, and in their property, to outrage and injustice with impunity, from more favored classes.

Resolved, That to a class of people the right of testimony is as valuable as the right of self-defence; a right which no generous foe will deny even to an enemy.

Resolved, That the true and only tests of credibility in a witness are his intelligence, integrity, and his disinterestedness; that, as a race, we are willing to be subject to these tests, to be applied in each case as it occurs, and that we ought not to be subject to any other.

Resolved, That the reception of testimony, and its belief afterwards, are separate and distinct questions; and that after the first has been received, its credibility remains to be judged of; and all the circumstances of credit or discredit attached to a witness, with the advantage when it has been received, that if it is right to be believed, it has not been lost, and if it ought not to be believed, its *reception* will not give it credit.

Resolved, That all classes, without distinction, are interested in the removal of all barriers as witnesses imposed upon the African race in California, as unwise, unnecessary for the protection of the white race, and unjust towards the proscribed classes, 'as taking that which nought enriches it, but leaves them poor indeed;' that these classes, in the consciousness of the injustice done them in this respect, say with the old Grecian—'Strike, but hear.'

Resolved, That we memorialise the Legislature at its approaching session, to repeal the third and fourth paragraphs of section three hundred and ninety-four of an Act passed April 29th, 1851, entitled, 'An Act to regulate proceedings in civil cases in the courts of justice of this State,' and also for the repeal of section fourteen of an Act entitled, 'An Act concerning Crimes and Punishments,' passed April 16th 1850.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed with full powers to adopt such measures as may be deemed expedient to accomplish the object in view.

Resolved, That we recommend the organization of a Grand Association, with auxiliaries in every county, for the purpose of collecting statistical and other evidences of our advancement and prosperity; also to encourage education, and a correct and proper deportment in our relations towards our white fellow-citizens, and to each other.

Resolved, That we regret and reprobate the apathy and timidity of a portion of our people, in refusing to take part in any public demonstration, having for its object the removal of political and other disabilities, by judicious and conservative action.

Resolved, That we recommend the creation of a contingent fund of $10,000, five thousand dollars to be controlled by a committee, having discretionary powers to enable us to carry forward measure that has for its object the amelioration of our condition.

On motion of Mr. Anderson, the report of the committee was received and adopted by acclamation, amidst much applause.

Mr. Anderson commenced to read a series of resolutions referring to the action of a National Convention of colored people assembled in Philadelphia recently, but he was ruled out of order by the President, who declared that while he presided over the deliberations of the Convention, no extraneous subjects should be brought forward to disturb the harmony of its proceedings. They had assembled for one object only, and the Convention should not swerve from it to debate the expediency of the actions of men in Philadelphia, Boston, or Charleston. The Chair was sustained by acclamation.

Mr. Newby offered a resolution, which was passed, tendering the thanks of the Convention to the editors and reporters of the *State Tribune*, *State Journal*, and *Union*, for the fair and just reports of the proceedings of the Convention.

Mr. Booth offered a resolution, which was adopted, providing for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the mineral possessions and agricultural interests of the colored people of this State.

On motion, a State Central Committee of one each from twenty-three Counties in the State was appointed to raise means to carry out the objects in view, and to collect statistics in relation to the condition—moral, social, pecuniary, etc.,—of the colored people.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Moore, a Committee of two was appointed to present an address to the colored people of this State, in relation to the proper exertions to be used to secure to colored children a suitable education. Rev. Messrs. Moore and Ward were appointed said Committee.

Mr. Newby read a form for the petitions which were to be circulated for signatures to be presented to the Legislature, which was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Townsend, a State Executive Committee, consisting of ten persons, who shall reside at San Francisco, Sacramento and Marysville, was appointed to be the medium through which their petition shall be presented to the Legislature.

Mr. Townsend, of the Committee to inquire into the state and condition of the colored population of the State of California, made the following

REPORT:

	Pop.	Wealth.
Alameda and Contra Costa	50	$50,000
Amador	100	75,000
El Dorado	1000	350,000
Nevada	400	250,000
Calaveras	250	100,000
Los Angelos	60	70,000
Tuolumne	..	75,000
Shasta	100	140,000
Santa Clara	50	40,000
Sacramento	500	250,000
San Francisco	1500	750,000
Monterey	50	45,000
San Joaquin	..	.....
Yuba	500	200,000
Placer	..	.....
Trinity	55	20,000
Butte	55	60,000
Sierra	..	25,000
	4865	$2,420,000

Your Committee beg leave to state, that the amounts set against the several counties are invested in several branches of business, real estate, mining, etc.; but agriculture is the most prominent. They also beg leave to state, that the colored residents of California are, in proportion to their numbers, the least recipients of public charity, which they regard as clear proof of their capacity to take care of their families for the present, and to provide for their future.

Mr. Hardy: I beg leave to call the attention of the House to the fact, that the amount, —— millions, set down by the Committee as the probable wealth of the colored population of this State, is in addition to immense sums which have been, from time to time, paid to their owners by colored men who have come here as slaves, and who, by a course of honest industry, have paid for and obtained their freedom. I adduce this as another evidence of the enterprise and capability of our race.

Rev. J. Moore: There is an expression in the report which I think should be corrected. It is this: 'That we are entirely destitute of any protection, in person and property, by the laws of the land.' This is incorrect, in some degree. And while we are stating our grievances, let us endeavor to do so in a spirit of thankfulness for all the favors shown us, and acknowledge every obligation we are under; but, above all, let us do so with truth. I, therefore, move an amendment to the report, so that it may read thus: 'That we do not receive full protection of the law in common with the white man.'

Mr. Townsend: I deny that the pitiful support which the law offers can be called a *protection*. Are we heard before the bar of justice? Are we recognized as having souls, and comprehending the nature and responsibility of an oath? 'Tis but a few months since a negro was stabbed in the streets of San Francisco, in the presence of twenty witnesses. The murderer was a Spanish man: he was arrested, and discharged on bail. On the day of his trial, his counsel ridiculed the idea of his being punished, and said he had '*only killed a nigger*,' who attempted to strike him down.' What was the result? The murderer was cleared, and in a few hours was walking the streets openly! There is, indeed, a semblance of protection, but it is not real.

Mr. Stokes: I have listened to the report as read, and believe it to be true in every particular. If I have a claim of $100 against a white man, and bring an action for its recovery at law, unless I have a white man who possesses the moral courage to come forward and endure the odium of a misconstructed society, and testify in my behalf, I lose my suit, and am scarce exempt from the indignity of being kicked out of court.

If a man cannot swear to a plain, honest, simple account, where is the protection of law! There is none! 'tis but a shadow and a name.

Mr. Ward offered a resolution, urging the necessity of the colored people to become temperance men. He said, in offering it, he did not expect the support of gentlemen who were in the habit of washing down the cotton in their throats every morning with a cock-tail, but they saw daily too much evidence of the evils of intemperance not to act upon the matter in some way.

The Chair, though a warm supporter of the proposition of Mr. Ward, considered it out of order, as the Convention had decided to keep out all extraneous matter, and upon that ground they had declined to act upon the school question. The temperance question is extraneous matter, and must be ruled out; but the Convention could appeal from his decision, if they desired to, and he should not deem it discourteous to him if he was overruled.

Mr. Collins moved the rules be suspended, and the resolution was adopted.

The Chair, by leave, reversed his decision, and the Convention refused to suspend the rules by the following vote: Ayes, 20; Nays, 17. Two-thirds being required to suspend, the motion was lost.

The following is the resolution of Mr. Ward:

Whereas, we regard the sin of intemperance to be a crying evil—a public calamity—a check to the religious, social, mental and financial advancement of the colored people of this State; therefore,

Resolved, That we recommend to our people the concentration of every moral and intellectual force for the complete removal of this dire curse from amongst us.

The Chair here requested Rev. Mr. Stokes to seat himself on an opposite side of the room, as while two preachers were seated together, he never could keep order. The request was complied with, amid much laughter.

Mr. McDougall offered a resolution to establish a banking house by colored men.

Mr. Morris was opposed to any such movement on the part of colored men, and did not think such a banking house ought to be established.

Mr. McDougall thought there were many men in the State, who would not deposit their money with the banking houses at present established, and by so doing, much more money would be put in circulation; but as it met with decided opposition, he would withdraw, which he did.

A motion to send a report of the proceedings to the Boston *Liberator*, and *Frederick Douglass's Paper*, was voted down.

Mr. Newby offered a resolution, returning thanks to the President, W. H. Yates, for the able manner in which he had presided over the Convention. It was adopted by acclamation, and in responding to it, Mr. H. remarked that he duly appreciated the high compliment conferred upon him by the members of the Convention in thus expressing, in so emphatic a manner, their thanks. In presiding over their deliberations, he had sought to act fairly towards all, and if he had not done so, he exceedingly regretted it. One thing he desired to call their attention to, particularly as he had been spoken to by several gentlemen present upon the subject.

In the published report of a few remarks he made on Tuesday, he was made to say, 'While I acknowledge in form, appearance and education, the African cannot compete with the Caucasian race,' &c. It should have been, 'He is unable, under existing circumstances, to compete with the Caucasian race,' &c. This is what he said and meant, as he could not admit that the African could not compete with any nation, if he was allowed the same opportunities. The colored people have much to contend against in the present age, but, by pursuing a proper course, could overcome much of it. He said: We must love our enemies, while we appeal to them for justice, and what we conceive to be right. The American heart is too noble and generous to turn a deaf ear to our requests, couched, as they are, in respectful terms. We ask for no social concessions or privileges, but say, 'hands off,' and do not depress us; we only desire the removal of a special grievance. Where does the white man go that the black does not? If to the battle-field, in conquering lands, the black is found at his side; if not with a sword, he has a soup-ladle to feed them while they fight. I believe this Convention has accomplished much good, for it has awakened an interest in the minds of all, and much good must eventually grow out of it. I am no orator, but a simple cook and steward, and work hard and honestly for my daily living, yet have a love for liberty which cannot be repressed, as it has grown in me for years.

He closed by advising his colored brethren to live honestly and harmoniously together, and conduct themselves in such a manner as will overcome the prejudices against them. His remarks were very appropriate and well expressed, and, of course, were received with much favor by the Convention.

Mr. Phelps, from the Printing Committee, reported in favor of establishing a newspaper in this State to advance the cause of the colored people, and providing for the appointment of a Committee of three to ascertain the probable cost, &c., and to make their report as soon as possible to the State Committee.

The delegates from the various counties then came forward, and pledged the following amounts to the $25,000 contingent fund: San Francisco, $1000; Sacramento, $500; Nevada, $500; Yuba, $250; El Dorado, $1200; Butte, $150; Alameda, $200; Santa Clara, $200; Sierra, $200; Tuolumne, $500.

At 6 o'clock, the choir sung a hymn, the chaplain pronounced a benediction, and the President declared the Convention adjourned, *sine die*, having been in session three days.

From the Boston Journal.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

We feel assured that none of our readers will fail to read the message of the President, which, for the importance of its subject matter, deserves more than usual attention. The sending of this message to Congress before that body had organized, is not the only novelty connected with this document. Innovation upon established usage in its transmission is but the fitting harbinger of an innovation still more remarkable, which will be found in the document itself. The disrespect for the popular branch of Congress involved in communicating the annual message before that body was in a position to act upon its recommendations, is not more striking than is the extraordinary zeal with which the President, who is sworn to watch over the interests of the whole Union, and to administer the affairs of the government impartially, throws himself and the weight of his office and influence into the southern side in the great moral controversy which agitates the Union. But of this more anon. * * *

We should be reluctant to believe that the President really desired to sacrifice the priceless blessings of peace, and to plunge the nation into a war with a European power, but there is too much of the spirit of the Irishman at Donneybrook fair pervading his message. 'Past eleven o'clock, and no fight yet! Will any gintleman tread on the tail of me coat!' might be parodied to read, 'Three years gone, and no *glorious* war. Will Great Britain or Denmark give us a pretext!' A foreign war may be a very convenient way of quieting the slavery agitation which this administration has incited, but we trust in the good sense of the American people that they will take from the bold, unscrupulous, and bad men at the head of the government, the power to do mischief.

There are subjects connected with the internal administration of the government, discussed in the message, which we are compelled to pass over at the present time, and with some remarks upon the extraordinary position of the President on the slavery question, we close our hasty review of the message. The discussion of subjects of internal controversy is not a new feature in the messages of the President, but no President from Washington down to Fillmore has approached these delicate questions in a partizan or sectional spirit. They have invariably treated the controversies which have grown out of the antagonistic feelings and interests of the States in a spirit of conciliation and impartiality, and from a higher stand-point than that of party or section. From this established and very proper rule of action, President Pierce has departed. He has descended from his official position to enter the ring of sectional strife, and to feed the flames of discord which now burn so fiercely in our confederacy. He enlists in the ranks of the Southern secessionists and fire-eaters, throws off his coat, tucks up his sleeves, and deals his feeble blows against that section of the Union which gave him birth, and whose cause should have had his warmest sympathies. He makes a special plea which for the hackneyed style of its argument, would disgrace the most obscure country lawyer, in behalf of the South, and against the North. There is not an argument or assertion in this remarkable plea which has not been urged again and again by the Clingmans, the Stephens, and other Southern extremists, and which has not been again and again refuted. But the worst feature of this sectional argument is its gross and palpable injustice and misrepresentation. The President assumes that those who are opposing the extension of slavery into new territories, are 'engaged in the offensive and hopeless undertaking of reforming the domestic institutions of other States.' With this lie as a text, he reads to the North a homily upon its aggressive spirit. He assumes that in the controversy between the interests of slavery and the interests of freedom, the South has from the formation of the Constitution down to the present day conceded to the North—that it has not sought to aggrandize itself—that the territorial accessions upon our Southern borders have not been made to strengthen slavery, but for the mutual benefit of the whole Union. We have no patience to comment upon the detestable flunkeyism of this argument, the object of which is too transparent to require an exposition. If the slaveholders do not appreciate this last and most abject bid for the next Presidency—if it does not place General Pierce many lengths ahead of all the heartless politicians who are contending for Southern favor, then will Southern ingratitude be crowned by an act which will eclipse all previous exhibitions of that characteristic trait.

We had supposed that President Pierce had reached a depth of degradation which was the utmost attainable, but it seems there is a lower deep which he has now sounded. When the impartial historian writes the history of his administration, he will accord to him the bad pre-eminence of being the first President to light a torch of discord between the different sections of the Union, and he will give to him the merited title of *the first sectional President*.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE. On the subject of slavery, the President, true to his natural instincts and the invariable practice of his administration, goes the entire Southern doctrine. Of all the Northern dough-faces who have been bought up by the South, President Pierce is the meanest and the most contemptible. It is difficult to believe, in reading this portion of the message, that it is the production of any other than a South Carolinian fire-eater to whom the crack of the whip and the clank of chains are the sweetest music. It is indeed a shame and disgrace that the Government should be in the hands of so despicable a tool of the Slave Power as President Pierce has proved himself both by his public acts and his official papers. After reading an official document like this, no man can wonder at the course pursued by Atchison, Stringfellow, and their hordes of border ruffians. Through the whole of their murderous operations in Kansas, they have had the *practical* aid and comfort of a Northern President who has thus imbrued his hands in the innocent blood of men, New England born, like himself, but who, unlike him, have been true to the principles of their Revolutionary Sires, and like them have sacrificed their lives in their defence. —*Dedham Gazette.*

THE PRESIDENT AND HIS MESSAGE.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3.

SENATE. The financial report of the Secretary of the Treasury was received.

Mr. MASON moved that 10,500 copies be printed by the printer to the Senate of the last Congress, at rates not exceeding those established by law.

A discussion ensued as to the powers of the Senate to take such action, since it would, as contended on one side, be a violation or evasion of the law of the last session relative to the public printing.

The resolution was adopted.

Mr. HALE remarked that he was not in his seat when the President's annual Message came in, else he should have objected to its reception as irregularly sent. He would not pretend to state reasons why the President took such an extraordinary and unprecedented course; but Yankees are allowed to guess, and he would by no means presume to assume that the President has taken this opportunity to go down upon his knees to the South because several Southern States are to hold Democratic Conventions about the 8th of January. (Laughter.) If such is the true version of the case, he was sorry the President had taken so much trouble for nothing, for there is just as much chance for one of the Senate's pages to be nominated for the Presidency as for Mr. Pierce. (Laughter.) The President takes up much of the message in talking about Central American affairs, but he [Hale] thought there is a place in the central part of the United States on which the eyes of the people are turned with vastly more attention—namely, Kansas. Mr. Hale stated, on the authority of Calhoun, that the Monroe doctrine, so much talked about, was originally suggested by the British Cabinet. It is true, as the President says, that acts have occurred in Kansas contrary to good order, but they had taken place by instigation of the President. It is not the first time the President has delivered a lecture on slavery. It was insulting to the majority of this nation for the President to say, in effect, that the men who disagree with him on that subject are enemies to the Constitution. Mr. Hale rebuked such an imputation. The Supreme Ruler, for the punishment of our national sins or the humiliation of our national pride, has permitted Pierce to occupy the Presidential chair, and he comes down into the arena of the demagogue, stripped of every thing which should clothe him with executive dignity. (Laughter.)

Mr. WILSON offered a resolution (which lies over) calling upon the President for information relative to the troubles in Kansas.

One hundred ballotings for Speaker of the House have proved fruitless. All honor to the Representatives of free principles for their firmness! Hold on!

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, JANUARY 11, 1856.

ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-Third Annual Meeting of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in Boston, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, January 24th and 25th—commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing its sessions through each day and evening.

Auxiliary associations, and members and friends of the Society, are requested to make early and sure arrangements to be strongly represented on the occasion.

The fact, that a most encouraging change has taken place in the public sentiment of the Commonwealth, and also of the entire North, on the subject of slavery, instead of inducing a state of repose or a lack of vigilance, should stimulate to greater activity and more determined effort for the utter overthrow of that foul and hideous system, which is the curse and shame of the country, full of danger and wo, and 'the sum of all villanies.' A more glorious struggle the world has never witnessed. Its successful termination, in the liberation and enfranchisement of FOUR MILLIONS OF CHATTEL SLAVES, will be an irresistible blow struck for the freedom of the human race, now kept in thraldom by the unparalleled hypocrisy and base apostacy of this pseudo 'model republic.' Once more, then, to the onset, with a self-sacrificing spirit and heroic determination which shall laugh to scorn all the threats and machinations of the Slave Power! We cannot be defeated.

In behalf of the Board of Managers,

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, *Secretary.*

MESSAGE OF GOV. GARDNER.

The message of Gov. Gardner was communicated to the Legislature of this State on the 2d instant.

It commences with the usual affectation of gratitude to 'the great Legislator of the Universe' for his goodness, and talks of 'devoutly imploring His direction, that wisdom may be vouchsafed us from above'—which, from such a source, is like 'a jewel in a swine's snout,' though it will gratify the time-serving religion of the Commonwealth, and propitiate a power which asks only this annual tribute of hypocrisy. For political office-holders who are but the puppets of public opinion—whose law is the will of the majority, whatever that may be—who are dependant for place and emolument upon a careful conformity to the shifting demands of popular feeling—whose elevation has been owing to successful demagoguism or an accidental circumstance, rather than to any personal merit—for such to pretend to be guided by the law of God, or to be solicitous for Divine Wisdom, is an absurdity. That it is deemed a good stroke of policy, and finds acceptance 'in all the churches,' is conclusive proof of the religious hollowness of the times.

Referring to the gratifying disclosures made by the semi-decennial census of the State, the Governor says—'Never before has the Commonwealth been *permitted by a gracious Providence* to advance so rapidly in every thing which conduces to the prosperity and happiness of a community.' Why 'a gracious Providence' should have stood in the way of her advancement so long, or what has induced it to remove the obstacles to her proper development, we are left in the dark to surmise. Such language has a show of piety, but it is unphilosophical. If the State has advanced 'in population, and in the magnitude of its various agricultural, mechanical and commercial resources,' the causes thereof are natural and obvious, and require no such reflection upon the wisdom and goodness of 'a gracious Providence' as is cast by the Governor, who evidently thinks, however, he is paying that Providence a special compliment.

By the late census, the population of the State exceeds that of 1850 by 159,318. In 1800, it was 422,845; in 1810, 472,040; in 1820, 523,287; in 1830, 610,408; in 1840, 737,700; in 1850, 973,715; in 1855, (5 years,) 1,133,033—a larger average gain per annum than ever before.

It is gratifying to find that, just in proportion to the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment and the love of impartial liberty within her borders, the Commonwealth has continued to 'rapidly advance in every thing which conduces to the prosperity and happiness of a community.' Such is the will of God—such the eternal law of Right. Let Massachusetts be thoroughly abolitionized; let her wholly cease to strike hands with the oppressor; let her consecrate every inch of her soil to freedom, so that whatever fugitive from bondage touches it thereby becomes emancipated; then shall 'her peace be like a river, and her prosperity like the waves of the sea.'

Of this Republic, the Governor says—'In its very grandeur there are elements of danger, and its present success gives rise to a commensurate feeling of solicitude'; and he declares 'it is our solemn duty, and one which no true son of Massachusetts, or of America, will shrink from, to guard against *every evil* that threatens the perpetuity of our institutions.' As, in another place, he says, 'the unshackled freedom of individual opinion, and the education of the individual mind, form the only true foundations of rational liberty and true republicanism,' it would seem as if the very first 'evil,' (as it comprehends every other,) which would challenge his attention, and induce him to sound the tocsin of alarm, would be that ever-enlarging and all-destructive system of slavery in the land, which not only shackles 'freedom of individual opinion,' and forbids 'the education of the individual mind,' but literally makes merchandize of the bodies and souls of four millions of the inhabitants; and which, incarnated in what is commonly designated as the Slave Power, or the Slave Oligarchy, is trampling in the dust all the natural and constitutional rights of the people of the free States, and successfully invading all the territorial possessions of the Union. But not a paragraph, not a sentence, not a syllable, is to be found in his message touching this momentous theme. The only 'solemn duty' which he thinks is demanded of every patriot, by whatever party name he prefers to call himself, is 'to do all that in him lies to protect the sacred privilege of the ballot, and the power of making and enforcing the laws, from the hands of those who of necessity cannot comprehend the nature of our republican institutions'! In other words, this 'solemn duty' is, to be a Know-Nothing!—or, as the Governor still further lucidly adds, 'to place those safeguards around our own institutions that every Christian (?) government of *the old world* has been taught by experience or necessity were [are] essential to the protection of its own'!! Wonderful statesmanship!—sublime enlargement of vision!—most enlightened patriotism! America must take a lesson from the tyrant-ridden and proscriptive governments of the old world, if she would rid herself of all the 'elements of danger'! She must be careful to limit the elective franchise, or to burden it with severe restrictions, in regard to such of our foreign population as shall not have been residents within the jurisdiction of the United States twenty-one years, (!) and legally naturalized. Let her do this, and all will go well with her—though she make every sixth person in the land a chattel slave! This is the old pharisaical trick of 'straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel.'

What does this talk about 'protecting the sacred privilege of the ballot' mean? Is the ballot nothing but a 'privilege'? If so, who has a right to bestow or to enjoy it more than another? In what election, under what circumstances, in what part of the country, has it been perverted or abused by voters of foreign birth, more than by those born on the soil? When have they shown any lack of patriotism, in the strictest American sense of the term? When or where have they exhibited an inability to 'comprehend the nature of our republican institutions'—the 'peculiar institution' in special, to the support of which they have hitherto rallied with such alacrity, and which is the only national test of fidelity? On these questions, no light is thrown by the Governor, or by the party to which he belongs; to them no answer can be given. The accusations against the foreign naturalized voters of this country are all indefinite, because they cannot be made specific. The statement may seem paradoxical, but it is strictly and historically true, that the most intensely *American*, in their feelings and acts,—meaning thereby aversion to change and progress, and conformity to what is established,—are the foreign portion of our population, particularly the Irish, who are the most to be feared on the score of ignorance and degradation, to say nothing of their religious fealty to the Romish Church. The flourish of Gov. Gardner, therefore, about 'protecting the sacred privilege of the ballot,' is all moonshine,—a mere party catchword,—destitute of reason and truth.

Let it be remembered that, since the message of the Governor to the Legislature one year ago, all the atrocities of Southern 'squatter sovereignty' have occurred in regard to the territory of Kansas. That territory has been repeatedly invaded by drunken cut-throats and armed brigands from Missouri, who have taken lawless possession of the polls on the days of election—imperilled the lives of those in favor of making the soil free—disfranchised them at the point of the bowie knife—destroyed the ballot boxes *ad libitum*—shot down unoffending free settlers in cold blood, and tarred and feathered, and otherwise brutally outraged others with impunity—elected a sham legislature, which forthwith proceeded to pass the most diabolical enactments—and, finally, combining to give the settlement of Lawrence to the flames, and to perpetrate robbery, rape and murder upon its population, and hindered by no wish or power of the federal government, but only by the Bunker Hill spirit of the people thus fearfully menaced. For refusing to connive at their hellish work, Gov. Reeder was promptly removed from his office by President Pierce, (among all the betrayers of freedom, the most to be despised, because the meanest of them all,) and Wilson Shannon, of Ohio, a poor lick-spittle equally devoid of principle and self-respect, appointed his successor, whose course has exceeded in villany the most sanguine expectations of the Missouri bandits themselves, except his surrendering at discretion from a wholesome fear of Sharpe's rifles in the hands of the patriotic citizens of Lawrence. To sum it all up in a nut-shell, Kansas has been in a state bordering upon civil war, during the past year—the rights of the settlers have been wantonly outraged by invading Missourians—all legal government has been usurped by a band of foreign conspirators—freedom of speech and of the press has been exercised at the risk of lynch law—and a low-bred, cowardly vassal has been appointed to act as Governor of the territory by the President of the United States, who has imitated the example of Nero in fiddling while Rome was burning!

These, and a multitude of other facts, equally alarming and admonitory, respecting a territory in which the North has a vital interest of the highest importance, are all well known to Gov. Gardner; but he ignores the very existence of Kansas in his message, and sees in what has transpired in that section of the country, nothing worthy of official reprobation or reference!

But, while thus complacent and dumb in regard to such unparalleled outrages on our soil, because they have been perpetrated by the infernal spirit of Slavery, Gov. Gardner is prompt, emphatic and positive in his condemnation of the 'Personal Liberty Bill,' which was adopted by the Legislature in May last, 'to protect the rights and liberties of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,' and calls for its immediate repeal or essential modification! What he says on this subject may be found in its proper place on our first page, in that department so long made the receptacle of whatever is pro-slavery in spirit or design, namely, the 'Refuge of Oppression.' He says—'The passage of this Act is deeply to be deplored, because it asserts or looks to the maintenance of rights not clearly and constitutionally ours.' What rights? Does he name any? No. Does he cite a single clause or provision in the Act aforesaid, and attempt to prove it illegal? No—his language is as vague now as it was in his Veto last year, which the Legislature so nobly disregarded. He merely repeats the opinion of Attorney General Clifford, that it is 'clearly repugnant to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States,' and also 'in violation of the Constitution of Massachusetts,' (!)—which latter instrument declares that ☞ 'ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL, and have certain natural, essential and inalienable rights—among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.' This declaration both Gov. Gardner and the Attorney General have publicly subscribed, and agreed to maintain, by solemn oath to God. Let either of them show, if he can, what portion of the Personal Liberty Bill is hostile to it. It cannot be done! To say, therefore, that that Bill is 'in violation of the Constitution of Massachusetts,' is a gross misstatement and bold effrontery. It is in perfect harmony with that Constitution throughout; and to demand its repeal is to ask for the overthrow of the Constitution itself! In vain does Gov. Gardner attempt to skulk behind 'an opinion signed by all the Justices of our Supreme Court, in reply to a question propounded to them by the Executive, with the advice and consent of the Council'—for the opinion was, simply, as follows:—'When any person, either citizen or stranger, has rendered himself amenable to the legal process of both governments,' (the Federal and State,) 'the one which by its process, and its officers, first obtains the lawful custody of such person, acquires a priority of jurisdiction which cannot be rightfully or legally defeated by the other, until the process first attaching shall have been satisfied or discharged.' But there is nothing in the Personal Liberty Bill, as passed, to conflict with this opinion, which, moreover, as privately extorted, cannot be regarded as an official decision of the Supreme Court. Besides, the Judges of this State are not the masters of the people, but only their servants, precisely as are all others who hold office by their permission; and it will be an evil day when their edict shall be deemed absolute against the intelligent judgment and voice of the people.

The Governor says that this Bill 'weakens the moral effect of the influence of our State.' The fact is just the reverse of this.

He says 'it sets an example, which, if followed by other members of the confederacy, will most certainly destroy our only bond of union.' This is a mere scare-crow. No Northern State, it seems, may do any thing for the better protection of its citizens, without jeoparding the bond of union; but the South may perpetrate any outrage upon Northern rights—may imprison, and sell as slaves, all colored citizens of the North caught on her soil—may ignominiously expel from her borders the authorised agents of Massachusetts, empowered to test the legality of her laws touching those citizens—may openly send a horde of ruffians into Kansas, to the complete subjugation of the bona fide settlers in that territory—and not even Gov. Gardner is uneasy lest the bond of union shall be weakened! His solicitude on this point is clearly a sham.

Finally, he says, 'either this law must remain a dead letter on our statute-book,' or, in the sequel, 'it must be supported by the whole military array of the State, in direct and immediate conflict with the army of the United States: *there is no alternative but submission, or open war!*' This is a cowardly echoing of the blustering and bullying of the lords of the lash, the bowie-knife, and the revolver. For safety, the Governor had better abdicate his place, and take refuge in Carolina. We know not yet of what stuff the present Legislature is made; but we are quite sure that the manner in which the Governor attempts to terrify them into a compliance with his preposterous demand will induce them to stand their ground all the more firmly. They will scorn to be influenced by any such menace, come from what quarter it may.

Gov. Gardner further says—'While Massachusetts will be loyal to her constitutional obligations, she demands that all her constitutional rights shall be respected.' Does she indeed? Ask Carolina and Louisiana! Inquire of the Hon. Mr. Hoar and the Hon. Mr. Hubbard, Commissioners, &c. &c.! What does the South care for the 'constitutional rights' of Massachusetts, or of any other free State? She treads them beneath her feet.

Look at the brazen inconsistency of the Governor, who seems to be a 'know nothing' morally, as well as in a party sense! At the very moment he is denouncing the Personal Liberty Bill, because it endeavors to shield our own colored population from the clutches of prowling kidnappers, acting under the accursed Fugitive Slave Law, by giving some additional safeguards to personal liberty in this State, he stultifies himself by saying that 'the people of Massachusetts, in common with the entire North, believe slavery to be a MORAL, social and political evil,' and therefore they are opposed to its further extension 'where, by solemn covenant, our nation has stipulated that it should never enter.' A moral evil is a sin; sin is never to be committed; and if slavery be regarded in this light by the people, how can they allow kidnapping on their soil? For is it not true, that

'He who abets oppression shares the crime?'

There must be no repeal, no essential modification of the Personal Liberty Bill. It belongs to no party; it may not be tampered with safely; it is imbued with the spirit of the Commonwealth; its repeal will consign to infamy those who shall vote to that effect. The 'every person imprisoned or restrained of his liberty is entitled, as of right and of course, to the writ of *habeas corpus*,' except in the cases specified in the Revised Statutes; that every person arrested as a fugitive slave shall be entitled to a jury trial; and that no person holding an office under the State, or belonging to the volunteer militia, shall aid in capturing or returning to bondage any such person. It contains no denial of the constitutional right of the slaveholder to arrest his slave in this Commonwealth, or to remove him therefrom, after a verdict in his favor by a jury; nor does it forbid any private citizen from assisting to capture or remove any alleged fugitive, when the case shall have been fully substantiated according to the forms prescribed. This is as far, perhaps, as Massachusetts can proceed, while she remains a member of the Union. But she never ought to allow a human being, claimed as the property of another, to be put on trial at all; and while she does so, she insults the image of God, and makes no discrimination between a man and a beast:—therefore, that she may no longer be bound in any manner by this 'covenant with death and agreement with hell,' we reiterate our battle-cry—'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!'

SPEECH OF MR. GIDDINGS.

Mr. Giddings made a straight-forward, effective and manly speech in the U. S. House of Representatives, Dec. 18th, on the 'Organization of the House,' in the course of which he recommended the substitution of principles for party names; rebuked all sectional feelings in Congress; revealed the true character and design of the factious minority of Democratic representatives, who are for organizing the House on no other than a slave basis; spoke of the popular condemnation which had been so signally meted out to those who voted for the Nebraska Bill—the Democratic members of that body having been reduced, in twelve months, from one hundred and fifty to seventy-four, from a triumphant and dominant majority to a feeble and inefficient minority; affirmed the God-given right of every man to liberty; defended the organization of *the House on the basis of freedom*; drove his Southern interrogators to the wall, and confounded their speech; asserted the right of the slaves to defend themselves to the last extremity against their masters; denounced slaveholding as 'the vilest despotism, the most perfect tyranny that ever cursed the footstool of God'; concluding his speech in the following noticeable language:—

'I repeat, that I embrace this opportunity of speaking frankly my own views, and I trust the views of Republicans and Christians generally, in consequence of the unrestrained denunciation iterated and reiterated against us by the advocates of oppression. I could not ask a new member to perform this duty. Indeed I have been led to its discharge principally for the benefit of our new members. I desire to hear them speak *boldly* when they speak; to utterance to their lowest emotions; to speak their sentiments, and avow their doctrines without disguise, and I would say to them, they need not fear a dissolution of the Union, of which we have heard so many intimations this morning.

I feel that this threat of dissolving the Union should be met promptly at the very threshold of our session. It has long been held up as the '*scarecrow*,' the '*bugbear*' to frighten doughfaces. These threats come from the slave States. They are not heard among the public men of the free States. They never have been uttered by the friends of Liberty.

A VOICE. Did not SUMNER threaten to dissolve the Union?

Mr. GIDDINGS. Never, sir, never. While from the slave States, from the slaveholding portion of the Union, they have been almost constantly proclaimed for the last quarter of a century. Even now, the leading Democratic paper of the slave States, the Richmond *Enquirer*, almost daily puts forth articles calling on the people of Virginia to prepare for a dissolution of the Union. While the public press and the politicians of that portion of the Union are thus proclaiming their intention to dissolve it, they turn round and charge us of the North with efforts to effect that object.

The free States have ever been loyal to the Union—they will remain so. They will not only refrain from dissolving it, but they will not permit it to be dissolved by the people of the slave States. It was founded by our fathers; it was cemented by their blood; and by all the hallowed recollections which cluster around their memories, we are called on to maintain it. To those who threaten its dissolution, we present an unbroken phalanx. With unwavering determination we say to those traitors, *you shall not dissolve it.* They should bear in mind that we have now the majority in this body; next year, with God's blessing, we will have the President; and in two years more we will have the Senate. And with the executive and legislative branches of

GLANCES AND GLIMPSES; or, Fifty Years Social, including Twenty Years Professional Life. By HARRIOT K. HUNT, M. D. Boston: Jewett & Co.

This is a volume eminently for the household. Its pictures of parental and filial affection, of domestic life, of the scenes of childhood, are all drawn with tenderness and skill, and give a beautiful sanctity to home. It contains no startling incidents or rare vicissitudes; it is simple, familiar, unpretending in its style; but it is full of the 'pith o' sense,' good humor, and genial sunshine,—interspersed with graphic personal descriptions, pleasant reminiscences, lively sketches, grave reflections, valuable suggestions, and wise counsels. It evinces an independent, self-reliant, progressive spirit, without the remotest approximation to fanaticism or extravagance,—and all the more to be admired and commended, because such a spirit in woman has received too little countenance, even where civilization and Christianity have been the most fully developed. HARRIOT K. HUNT, its authoress, has done a good work for her sex in particular, and for society at large, by her present publication. Her twenty years of professional life, as portrayed in this volume, indicate that firmness of purpose, perseverance of spirit, and consciousness of right, which time never fails to crown with the wreath of victory. The rights of woman are now treated with comparative respect—are conceded in many particulars where formerly denied—and will yet be fully recognised in all the relations of life, whether in public or private; but it was a cold and dreary period when Miss Hunt took her initiative step as a medical student and practitioner, and a heavy cross had to be borne by her at that period. Even as late as the year 1847, her application for leave to attend the medical lectures at the Massachusetts Medical College was denied her on the paltry pretence of 'inexpediency'! Well does she remark, that 'it takes more than the clearity which beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, to abstain from severe criticism, when common sense is outraged by such flimsy subterfuges. Any kind of a reason might have been accepted; but this "inexpedient" aroused my risibles, my sarcasm, my indignation.' All thanks to her for the example she has set her sex, and the democratic principle she has vindicated, in thrice entering her well-written and unanswered (because unanswerable) protest against 'taxation without representation,' addressed to the proper city authorities, on being summoned to pay her taxes. She gives the following as an exact copy of the fourth protest which she is about to make:—

To Frederick U. Tracy, Treasurer, and the Assessors, and other Authorities of the City of Boston:

The necessity of *protesting* against 'taxation without representation' deepens every year, therefore for the fourth time I utter my Protest against present usage, and would refer you to previous Protests for my reasons.

Added to these very weighty ones, is the injustice of city officers incurring whatever expenses may minister to their pleasure, or feed their ambition, and then unceremoniously charging *women* who own property, with whatever per centage is necessary to meet these extra expenditures. Carriage hire, dinners, courtesy to strangers, and other distinguished persons—all *men*. Our Lods, Bremers, Stowes, Pfeiffers, &c., are never so honored by the municipal authorities; and yet *women* are required to pay a quota of the expenses.

The salaries of our female teachers in public schools are based on *sex, not capacity*, and tax-paying women are aggrieved here. *They* must pay the school-tax, but are allowed *no voice* as to its just appropriation.

Has not the time come when a *poll-tax* should be levied upon every woman who is twenty-one years old and upwards? This would be an addition to the revenue of the State, and an incentive (I hope) to the legislature to grant us the *right* which we crave, just as our fathers craved it of the British government, when *they* protested against 'taxation without representation.' They took up arms to vindicate *this right*, and triumphantly established it by the sword. Our weapons are the word and the pen.

This is respectfully submitted.

HARRIOT K. HUNT, 32 Green Street.

Boston, Dec. 1, 1855.

She records with satisfaction the fact, that two other tax-paying women (natives of Boston) have for the last two years protested:—one inherited her property, the other has acquired most of it by business. Also one in Plymouth, and another in Lowell—all ably written, and clear cases of the injustice of the present position of affairs. This protest should be universal in all the States, on the part of tax-paying women. It will secure justice in the end.

We again commend this volume to our readers as containing much pleasant and profitable reading, and as a timely contribution to the cause of philanthropy and reform. [For an extract from it, as a specimen of its quality, see our first page.]

MRS. CHILD'S 'NEW FLOWER FOR CHILDREN.'—Though Christmas and New Year's Day have gone, it is ever seasonable to bestow gifts upon the little ones who are daily developing in mind and body; especially good story books, which furnish instruction no less than amusement. To this end we would again commend the excellent volume recently published by C. S. Francis & Co., 252 Broadway, New York, and 'designed for children from eight to twelve years old,' entitled, 'A New Flower for Children, by Lydia Maria Child.' Whatever Mrs. Child undertakes, she executes with rare conscientiousness and ability; and she is preëminently successful in all her efforts to please and enlighten the rising generation. In the Preface she says to her young readers, 'May the flower I offer you prove a perennial blessing to your hearts, and leave fragrance in your memories!' It cannot fail to do this wherever read.

☞ We have received a pamphlet, entitled 'Spiritualism—The Bible and "Our Ideas" Compared—by a Layman.' It is a letter from a brother, in answer to one from his sister residing at the West, who expresses her repugnance to modern 'Spiritualism,' for certain reasons, specified by her. Its author, we understand, is an esteemed friend residing in Northampton, Mr. JOHN BRIDGMAN, who is a plain farmer, and lays no claim to literary culture, but who is eminently conscientious, upright and circumspect in all his opinions and acts, and whose spirit is ever that of love, peace and good will to all the human race. A believer in Spiritualism, he answers the objections to it, brought by his sister, in a very candid and sensible manner, and confesses that it has enlarged his understanding, and has had the happiest effect upon his own mind. Some copies of this pamphlet are for sale at Bela Marsh's bookstore, 15 Franklin street, in this city; though it was not the original intention of the author to lay it before the public.

☞ 'BROWN'S ALMANAC, for 1856,' published by Brown, Bazin & Co., 94 Washington street, makes a very convenient and useful Pocket Memorandum and Account Book, containing as it does not less than fifty-six blank leaves whereon to record appointments, bills and notes due, and occasional memoranda, for each day of the year. It needs only to be seen to be purchased.

☞ John P. Jewett & Co., Boston, have published, in a large and neatly printed pamphlet of 180 pages, 'ZAIDEE, a Romance,' from Blackwood's Magazine—in thirteen parts. It was first issued in America in Littell's 'Living Age,' and is full of absorbing interest. The name of the author is not given. Price, 38 cents.

☞ THE HOLLY-TREE INN, in Seven Chapters. By CHARLES DICKENS. We have here Dickens's annual series of Christmas stories, always welcome and readable. There is the usual variety of humor, and pathos, and sentiment. The story of 'The Boots' shows a new phase of courtship, old as the theme is. For sale at Redding's; 12½ cents.

☞ The lecture delivered by our colored fellow-citizen, Dr. J. S. ROCK, on Tuesday evening last, at the Melodeon, 'on Races in general, and the Caucasian and African in particular,' was a very creditable performance, and warmly applauded by the audience. Its delivery in other places is very desirable.

☞ Rev. John O. Choules, of Newport, R. I., and formerly of England, died in New York on Saturday.

THE LIBERTY BELL FOR 1856.

Though the 'LIBERTY BELL' is somewhat diminished in size, this year, its contents are worthy of its high reputation for ability and interest. We give the table below:—

1. A Curse for a Nation. By Elizabeth Barrett Browning.
2. State Rights of Massachusetts. By Harriet Martineau.
3. The Ruined Temples. By William Henry Hurlbut.
4. The Historic Point of View. Letters to Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman from Michelet, DeTocqueville, Emile de Girardin, Carnot, and Passy, of France.
5. Testimony against Slavery. By Count De Montalembert.
6. Lines. By Eliza Lee Follen.
7. Jan and Zaida. By Lydia Maria Child.
8. The Ballad of Edward Davis. By James Freeman Clarke.
9. Letter from N. Tourgueneff, a noble Russian exile.
10. Lay of the Mountaineer. By Harriet Winslow List.
11. Nemesis. By Edmund Quincy.
12. Hymn. By Samuel Longfellow.
13. The Consequences of Royal Piety. By Charles Francis Adams.
14. A Psalm of Life. By a Boston Doctor of Divinity.
15. The 'Infidelity' of Abolitionism. By Wm. Lloyd Garrison.
16. Lines. By Lydia Maria Child.
17. Testimony against Slavery. By Edward Baines.
18. A Charade.
19. Necrology. By Maria W. Chapman.
20. Elizabeth of the Wartburg. By Harriet Beecher Stowe.
21. Letter of an Evangelical Pastor. By Adolphe Monod.
22. The Boston Mob. By Wendell Phillips.
23. Sonnets. By Anne Warren Weston.

The poem by Mrs. E. B. Browning, '*A Curse for a Nation*,' is singularly felicitous, delicate and unique, and well worth the price of the volume. We copied it into our last number.

LECTURES BY MISS WATKINS.

BOSTON, 3d Jan., 1856.

According to announcement through the columns of THE LIBERATOR and other papers, Miss FRANCES E. WATKINS lectured in the North Bennett Street Free Will Baptist Church, (Rev. Mr. Cilley, pastor,) on Sunday evening, 30th Dec., 1855, before a large and attentive audience. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, a goodly number were present, and she was much applauded through her address; and in many parts was also very pathetic, calling forth the tears from many an eye. She spoke eloquently of the wrongs of the slave, and appealed to New England mothers to exert all the influence in their power for the abolition of the accursed system. Previous to the close of the meeting, a liberal collection was taken for Miss Watkins. All seemed to be well satisfied with the lecture.

On Wednesday evening, Jan. 2d, I visited Liberty Grove, Greenwood, (near South Reading,) through the invitation of Mr. R. H. Ober, (of the firm of Morey, Ober & Co. of this city,) a well-tried friend of the anti-slavery cause, to listen again to Miss Watkins' eloquent voice, who delivered a soul-stirring lecture before a fine audience in the Greenwood school-house. Miss W. spoke nearly two hours, to the entire satisfaction of all present, and I earnestly hope that much good has been done.

Mr. D. M. Allen, of Westminster, (Mass.,) being present, made a few appropriate remarks, which were listened to with much attention.

Miss Watkins is a young lady of color, of fine attainments, superior education, and an impressive speaker, leaving an impression, wherever she goes, which will not soon be forgotten. I hope the friends of the anti-slavery cause will notice with attention this deserving young lady.

With great respect,

JOHN STEPHENSON.

TO DELINQUENT SUBSCRIBERS.

Our delinquent subscribers will pardon us if we remind them that, by the terms of our paper, payment is required *in advance*. Such as are owing from the first of January, 1855, to the first of January, 1856,—we are requested to state by the Financial Committee,—will have their paper stopped on the first of February ensuing, unless their bills are previously settled.

☞ The Massachusetts Legislature convened at the State House, in this city, on Wednesday, 2d inst. Hon. E. C. Baker, (American,) of Middlesex, was elected President of the Senate, and Peter L. Cox, of Essex, Clerk. Dr. Charles A. Phelps, (American,) of Boston, was chosen Speaker of the House of Representatives, and W. E. P. Haskell, of Chelsea, Clerk. Benjamin Stevens, Esq., was unanimously reëlected Sergeant-at Arms. Rev. Daniel C. Eddy, of Lowell, was elected Chaplain for the Senate, and Rev. Abraham D. Merrill, of Lynn, Chaplain for the House. The annual election sermon was preached in the Old South Church by Rev. Raymond H. Seeley, of Springfield.

☞ The proceedings of the Convention held at Sacramento, by the colored citizens of California, in order to secure their right to give testimony in the courts of that State, which we have copied from the *State Tribune*, will be read with interest, and do credit to all the delegates assembled on that occasion.

HON. H. W. HILLIARD. This gentleman, it is thought, will arrive in this city to lecture before the Mercantile Library Association, and in the slavery course on Thursday. He will be the guest of Hon. Nathan Appleton and Hon. Robert C. Winthrop during his stay in this city.—*Boston Post.*

☞ Of course! 'Birds of a feather,' &c. This Alabama advocate of robbery, adultery and murder failed to meet his pro-slavery appointment in this city last week, and his place was filled by Rev. THEODORE PARKER, on the side of freedom, who gave a lecture characterised by masterly ability.

Fearful Railroad Collision.—Four Persons Killed, and Sixteen Wounded.—Pittsburg, Pa., January 1.—At Darlington Summit, at half-past four o'clock, yesterday afternoon, the passenger train going west on the Ohio and Pennsylvania railroad, came in collision with a freight train coming east, which was out of its time—the conductor probably endeavoring to reach the switch, which is but a short distance from where the collision occurred—whereby four persons were instantly killed, and sixteen more or less dangerously wounded, among them the engineer of the express train and the fireman. The locomotives and cars were smashed, both trains being under full headway. The watch of the conductor of the freight train was found to be three-quarters of an hour too slow.

ANOTHER PRESS DESTROYED. A letter published in the *St. Louis Democrat*, dated Leavenworth, Dec. 28, says, that the *Territorial Register*, an administration paper, was mobbed, the type thrown into the river, and a lot of paper destroyed. The mob was composed principally of Missourians.

The Free State party, at their Convention on the 22d of Dec., nominated Chas. Robinson for Governor, N. Y. Roberts for Lieut. Governor, and M. W. Delaney for Congress. The election takes place on the third Tuesday of January. Col. Lane, who was Mr. Robinson's opponent for the nomination, was defeated by a vote of 55 to 22.

☞ Gen. S. C. POMEROY, of Kansas, has returned to Southampton, and will be in Boston this week. The General is on a mission to give an account of his sufferings and escape from the border ruffians to the New England people. Many Massachusetts people in Kansas have suffered severely by the war. The editor of the Springfield *Republican* has had a call from the General, and received from him thrilling narratives of matters in the Territory.

DEPUTATION FROM THE IRISH METHODISTS TO THEIR BRETHREN OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

MR. EDITOR:

The above deputation is now in New York, and has commenced its operations for raising a fund to be applied to the conversion of Ireland to the faith and practices of Methodism. The *Christian Advocate and Journal*, the organ of the Methodists, thus announces its first success:—

'On Sunday morning, the Rev. Wm. Arthur presented the cause of Irish Methodism to a large congregation in Mulberry Street Church, and with such effect as to procure subscriptions to the amount of six thousand dollars.'

When the deputation shall have finished its work of faith and labor of love in New York, it is to proceed to Boston, and other cities of the Union.

There can be no objection to the Methodists of Ireland simply sending a deputation here to raise money for the object stated, provided they make a good use of it, and that the deputation do not in any way compromise the anti-slavery professions of their constituents, nor throw a stumbling-block in the way of freedom here. But such a course, I humbly conceive, it will be difficult to pursue, when the deputation is already in communion and fellowship with a Church which has slaveholders in its connection, and which tries by every means in its power to perpetuate slavery, and prevent the anti-slavery cause from progressing.

As the pro-slavery character of the Methodist Episcopal Church is so well known, and its hypocrisy so fully unmasked, even in Ireland, I can scarcely think that those who sent out the deputation were not aware of the responsibility they would incur in thus recognising as Christian, a Church and priesthood who are as deadly foes to the true gospel of Jesus as it has ever had to contend with, not excepting the Jewish priests who crucified him.

Perhaps, after all, the friends of the slave's freedom on this side of the Atlantic have over-estimated the anti-slavery professions of the Irish Methodists, and they were only made because such things are popular over there. But as it would be wrong to judge uncharitably of the motives of men, while they at least make high professions, I will assume for the present that they were wholly ignorant of the character of the Church and the men whose Christianity the deputation comes here to endorse. I will give them a sample of the kind of pro-slavery gospel which the Methodist Episcopal Church gives to its people, that, if the Irish Methodists have committed a fault, they may also repent. I shall not have far to travel in quest of it. The very paper which announces Mr. Arthur's first successful effort contains the following. The paper is edited by Rev. Thomas Bond, D.D., and is issued from the Book Room. With regard to those who would disturb the Church with abolition doctrines, the editor says:

'We ought never to abandon a higher work for a lower one. The highest of all offices is the preaching of the gospel. It is a loss to the world to abandon this for any thing else. He who sows the only seed which can yield celestial fruit, may well be diligent in his day. Let others fence the field, and, if need be, weed it. He cannot stop his more important and urgent work. Mr. Wilberforce said of a man of extraordinary genius who wrote agreeable trifles, that he appeared to him as a giant wasting his strength in cracking nuts. Every preacher, if not a giant, may wield gigantic power. Alas! many of those are cracking nuts; and nuts, too, the kernels of which are bitter. The olive should not leave its fatness for any inferior position. Grant all that is demanded by Abolitionists as to the evil of slavery and the good of emancipation, we yet think it better to preach the gospel than to preach abolition. It is more important to have souls saved than bodies freed.'

What makes the above doubly diabolical is, that the very motive urged for preaching the gospel is the one urged against preaching abolition—in other words, against preaching deliverance to the captives, the opening of the prison to them that are bound, and letting the oppressed go free;—the very things which Christ expressly says he came to do. But it is a gospel that talks of saving men's souls,—and only talks,—while it leaves their bodies in chains, and has nothing to do with slavery, except to receive the slaveholder into the bosom of the Church, and give him a safe passport to heaven. This is the kind of gospel and its ministers, the kind of Christians, which the Irish Methodist deputation comes here to endorse! And no doubt they will be handsomely paid for it in the way of subscriptions.

In the same paper, and in the same editorial above quoted from, is introduced an old letter, written by a certain Nicholas Stephens, to a then active preacher, which is recommended as being *full of good sense and wise counsel*. Let us see the kind of good sense and wise counsel the Rev. editor recommends. I make the following extracts from the letter:—

'Liberty is good—a great national good; and yet our brethren in Britain and the West Indies administered nothing from the pulpit to support it. On the contrary, you find, according to Drew's Life of Coke, that the Methodists, both white and black, in every trying hour, are found among the supporters of government—*that is, of tyranny and oppression*. There is also a remarkable case on record in very early times, of a certain Philemon, who was a slaveholder, and who had a slave by the name of Onesimus, (a white man,) who ran away; and whether he advertised him, or whether he went to see his wife, so it was, he came to Rome, and there heard a certain Paul, a preacher of some eminence in those days, and became a convert. Paul, finding his runaway slave would be of use to him in the ministry, wrote a letter to the slaveholder, and offered, upon condition he would suffer his slave to remain, to pay him any wrong out of his own pocket.'

To have completed the above, we should have been told that, as ministers could no more do without money in those days than at present, Paul hired out the slave, and lived upon the fruit of his labor, while he himself preached the gospel; that the story of Paul having worked with his own hands, that he might not be chargeable to any of them, is untrue, and interpolated by some enemy of priestcraft; that he kept the slave to the day of his death, and that in this way he was supported, as we never hear of raising contributions for any other purpose than for the poor, or receiving any thing on his own account, except when in prison, when, probably, his slave did not act fairly towards his master, and Paul could not labor with his own hands.

But we see from the above that the Methodist Episcopal Church North preaches the same pro-slavery gospel it did before the South, or rather, a part of the South, seceded from it,—that it is unchanged in its hostility to abolitionism.

But is it true that the Methodists, both of England and the West Indies, were always on the side of '*tyranny and oppression*,' and that they ministered nothing from the pulpit to support liberty? So says Drew's Life of Coke, according to Nicholas Stephens, endorsed by Dr. Bond; and if true, then the deputation's fellowship with the M. E. Church in the United States is indeed a fellowship of kindred spirits. Pilate and Herod are not made friends, for they were never enemies.

The deputation represents the Roman Catholic religion as the cause of Ireland's poverty and degradation. To estimate the amount of truth contained in the statement, we have only to compare the population of Ireland generally, both Protestant and Catholic, with that of Belgium, or France, or even with despotic Austria, which are Catholic countries. When they would contrast the Protestant with the Catholic population of Ireland, they must have forgotten the history of the plantation and settlement of Ireland by Scotch and English Protestants, when they drove the Catholics from their lands, and the cry raised against them was, 'To h—ll or Connaught!' and the bloody penal code with which the Catholics were so long oppressed. They must have forgotten there was ever such a thing as Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, or Protestant and Orange landlordism. We think the worst way of converting Catholics to Protestantism is by slandering them; and now for the Methodists of Ireland, who have always taken sides with their oppressors, to offer them their religion, is only adding insult to injury. However degraded the Catholic population of Ireland are, we think in this respect they will compare favorably with the American slave population, who are said to enjoy all the blessed privileges of American Protestantism—of Methodism.

But I am straying from my purpose, which is to record my solemn protest against this deputation, or any one regarding as Christian the ecclesiastical organizations or churches of the country that uphold slavery. The story so often told, that, in the free States, the churches have nothing to do with slavery, receives its refutation in the fact, that the members and ministers of these churches are in political league with the slave States, and have actually pledged the whole physical force of the North to uphold slavery. The South, therefore, is not alone responsible for its existence. The religious sentiment of the North, among all the principal religious denominations, favors it; and until this sentiment is changed, and they withdraw their guarantee for its maintenance, they are to be held equally responsible. The sin of slavery lies directly at the door of the Northern churches. They have a power for its destruction which they do not use; for, however individuals may disregard the public teachings of religion, yet the public sentiment and practice of a community are generally in accordance with them. The Methodist Church, especially, has the keeping of the consciences of a large number of the American population; yet the general conscience of its people is adverse to liberty.

There are some people who think that, by finding fault with the churches and ministers, we are only injuring the cause we are solicitous to promote; that if they are wrong, they should be dealt with tenderly; that we should rather win them by smooth words and gentle persuasion. Those who expect any very efficient aid from the churches may hold this opinion; for my part, I think the aid will be very small. Those who find fault, evidently mistake the character of priests, and forget, that while Christ taught the common people, and they heard him gladly, he denounced the priests, scribes and pharisees—hypocrites. They forget that priests, who have generally both the opinions and consciences of their people in their keeping, are adverse to reform; and that, had reform been left to them, the world would yet have to emerge from a state of mental as well as bodily slavery. If the Catholic religion, in the hands of priests, has been an engine of oppression and persecution, the Protestant religion, in the hands of priests, has been the same. But those who, to serve a purpose, rail at the religion of Catholics, as such, should recollect that it was through the influence of the Roman Catholic religion that chattel slavery was abolished throughout Europe; and that, if slavery shall be abolished in America, it will be against the influence of evangelical Protestantism.

ROBERT JOHNSTON.

New York, Dec. 15, 1855.

LETTER FROM REV. HIRAM WILSON.

ST. CATHARINE, C. W., Jan. 1st, 1855.

MY DEAR FRIEND WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

I take the liberty to ask the use of a little corner of your paper, in which to make known to friends of humanity in the United States and England some things which have transpired in this land of refuge the past year.

The Lord, who is rich in mercy towards all his faithful and confiding servants, and even towards the unthankful, has been pleased to crown the departed year with his loving kindness. If we are ever called to witness a change in human affairs for the better, (of which there can be no doubt,) we have ample occasion to rejoice and thank God for another year's progress, at least, in point of time, towards the bright dawn of a glorious jubilee, when the disenthralled millions of this world shall exult in the blessed boon of civil and religious freedom.

The year 1855 has not been without its conflicts, powerful and protracted; nor has it passed away in lack of most signal triumphs. Let God be praised for every advantage gained for truth and righteousness! At times, we have to labor under the cloud, in the midst of discouragements. In some respects, it is thus with God himself, though he can perceive the end from the beginning. 'Clouds and darkness are round about him, but righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne.' There is never a drawn battle between truth and error, for the latter, if not wholly vanquished, is nevertheless the loser. Hence we are bound to 'thank the Lord, and take courage.'

There has been an unusually large influx of strangers in Canada during the past year from Southern slavery. At this important halting-place, we have had the pleasure of receiving 120 or more of this class, and ministering to their necessities. At the various Niagara crossings, and further eastward, about 400 have entered the 'promised land,' and it is estimated that from four to six hundred have come over upon the western frontier; so that the aggregate of arrivals for the year could not be much if any short of *one thousand*. At the South, these self-emancipated ones would doubtless be valued at nearly a million of dollars. Here they regard themselves as of infinitely greater value.

This amazing increase of real and not fictitious value to humanity is happily made manifest in Mr. Drew's book, recently published, entitled, 'The Refugee,' and giving the North side view of slavery. I happen to be personally acquainted with many of the narrators, and regard the work as perfectly reliable and remarkably instructive, embodying an amount of woful experience of the revolting scenes of the 'prison house' rarely to be met with. Of the horrors of slavery, and the barbarity of brutalizing tormentors common at the South, the half has not yet been told. Should South-side views of slavery be again presented to the public by sacerdotal scribblers, volume after volume of solid matter of experience can be elicited from refugees in Canada to corroborate Mr. Drew's book of narratives. While the laws of the South strike dumb the lips of the enslaved millions, who have not even the privilege of Balaam's ass, that did open his mouth and speak in rebuke of the inhumanity of the mad prophet when beaten, on getting into this land of liberty and law, it is fit that they should here give their testimony, and that testimony should be respected. I am truly glad that the book referred to is published, and hope that it may be generally read and considered.

The frequent arrival of strangers, each requiring attention, though we minister to them with a good relish, if need be, at the hour of midnight, nevertheless subjects us to more expense than our scanty means are adequate to meet. Through the warm season of the year, the new-comers soon find employment, but not so easily in the winter. We are often perplexed to know what to do for them. We teach them to rely as much as possible on their own exertions, and they are generally well adapted to provide for themselves when once initiated as freemen and inducted into business.

Some people in this country have been so inconsiderate as to assume that there is no need of assisting the stranger. Such are in error; but in prosecuting our work of philanthropy, and bearing out the spirit of Christian kindness among the lowly in their destitution and distress, while conscious of the approving smiles of Heaven, we are equally but sadly conscious of censure and ridicule from evil-minded persons, in Canada and elsewhere, who can more easily traduce others than effect any positive good themselves.

I would gladly give you a full statement of all the interests of our mission, but for lack of time, and in consideration that I am reporting from time to time to a Missionary Society in Boston, also to a Committee in Toronto.

Our cause is progressing, and, standing as we do upon the battle-field, it becomes us to have on 'the whole armor of God; our loins begirt with truth, our lamps trimmed and burning, and our feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace.' During the past summer, I have distributed some 50,000 pages of religious, temperance, peace and anti-slavery tracts, which were generally well received.

Respectfully yours, HIRAM WILSON.

☞ WM. WELLS BROWN, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will hold meetings as follows:

Millbury,	Friday,	Jan. 11.
Southboro',	Sunday,	" 13.
Melrose,	Tuesday,	" 15.
Greenwood,	Thursday,	" 17.
Marlboro',	Sunday,	" 20.
"	Monday,	" 21.

Mr. Brown's daughter will accompany him, and speak in some of the above places.

☞ C. C. BURLEIGH, an Agent of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

Joppa, E. Bridgewater,	Friday eve'g,	Jan.	11.
Abington, Town Hall,	Sunday	"	13.
Bridgewater, Town Hall,	"	"	13.
Middleboro' Four Corners,	Monday eve'ng,	"	14.
East Middleboro',	Tuesday, "	"	15.
Plympton,	Wednesday "	"	16.
"	Thursday, "	"	17.
Halifax,	Friday, "	"	18.
Kingston, (all day,)	Sunday, "	"	20.

The Sunday meetings above mentioned will, also, be addressed by Miss Frances E. Watkins of Baltimore, (colored.)

In behalf of the Society, LEWIS FORD.

☞ ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will hold meetings as follows:

Groton,	Friday,	Jan. 11.
Pepperell,	Sunday,	" 13.
South Danvers,	Tuesday,	" 15.
Danvers Port,	Wednesday,	" 16.
North Danvers,	Thursday,	" 17.
Groveland,	Friday,	" 18.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT FITCHBURG.

There will be an annual meeting of the Worcester Co. North Anti-Slavery Society, at Fitchburg, commencing on Saturday evening, the 12th inst., at 7 o'clock, and continuing Sunday afternoon and evening.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON and other able advocates of liberty will address the meeting.

D. M. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

THE CAMPAIGN IN MICHIGAN!

A series of Anti-Slavery Conventions and Meetings, under the auspices of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, to be addressed by AARON M. POWELL and J. H. PHILLEO, Agents of the American A. S. Society, and MRS. MARY A. PHILLEO, Agent of the Michigan Anti-Slavery Society, will be held as follows:—

Howell, Saturday and Sunday,	Jan. 12	and 13.
Lansing, Tuesday and Wednesday,	" 15	and 16.
Lyons, Saturday and Sunday,	" 19	and 20.
Ionia, Wednesday and Thursday,	" 23	and 24.
Grand Rapids, Saturday and Sunday,	" 26	and 27.
Grand Haven, Tuesday and Wednes.,	" 29	and 30.

DIED—In this city, Dec. 14, POMPEY THURSTON, aged 68 years, a well-known and worthy colored man, whose virtues will be gratefully remembered by those who best knew him. He was brought up in the family of the late Col. Gibbs, of Newport, and was afterwards, for a short period, in the service of Rev. Dr. Channing, but the principal part of his life was passed as a beloved and trusted member of the household of the late Edward Tuckerman, who made, by his last will, a suitable provision for his declining years. Pompey Thurston had a great deal of that courteous and dignified good breeding which has marked so many of the better class of our colored inhabitants. And he was a thoroughly honest and good man, with whom the faithful discharge of duty had become the habit of every day. His memory is dear to his friends; and it is pleasant to them to think, that in that better world into which he has now passed, the paltry distinctions of condition and color shall separate no longer between God's faithful servants.—*Transcript.*

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SELF-KNOWLEDGE promotes health, virtue, happiness.

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TERMS: For Chart, according to Buchanan's New System of Phrenology, and a written Delineation of Character, $2 00. For Chart as above and Conjugal adaptations, $3 00. For Clairvoyant Examinations and Prescriptions, including Mental Delineations, $5 00.

PSYCHOMETRY. Psychometry is an established science. It is the true method of measuring the *power* of the mental faculties, and the manifestations of *character*. By this process, a knowledge of a person's physical power and endurance may be obtained—the intellectual strength and capacity delineated—the spiritual or moral qualities unfolded—the social virtues clearly defined, and the *proper sphere* of action for which each one is adapted, so presented as to ensure *success in life*, if proper directions are carried out. No object can be of more *practical* importance than Psychometry to the parent—the teacher—the student—the physician—the lawyer, or the reformer, for by its wonderful power the secret impulses of action may be discerned, and the *true* methods of directing effort may be clearly made known.

Jan. 4. 4t

About the 25th of December, we shall issue,

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THE LIFE EXPERIENCES OF A

RARE WOMAN,

Whose social and professional career has been one of the most

EVENTFUL ON RECORD.

A PROFESSIONAL WOMAN? Yes, reader, a professional woman, and one *eminent* in her profession.

Have you read from year to year, in the daily papers of Boston, the able protest of a Female Tax-Payer, on the injustice of *taxation without representation?* If so, you know something of her whose Autobiography will soon be given to the world, under the title of

GLANCES AND GLIMPSES,

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TWENTY YEARS OF SOCIAL,

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Twenty Years of Professional Life.

BY DOCTOR HARRIOT K. HUNT.

After reading this book, no one will doubt that DR. HUNT has seen curious sights on both sides of the screen, and that she is not afraid to make some professional disclosures which the world should know. It is a volume of *keen satire, genuine wit, capital hits* at the *tomfooleries of the Age*, and a book of sterling good sense, which will leave its impress, for weal, upon society.

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THE TRIAL

OF

THEODORE PARKER

For the Misdemeanor of a speech in Faneuil Hall against Kidnapping, before the Circuit Court of the United States, at Boston, April 3, 1855.

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Dec. 21. 4t

A BOOK FOR EVERY HOUSEHOLD.

CASTE:

A Story of Republican Equality.

BY SYDNEY A. STORY, JR.

In one large Duodecimo Volume, 540 pp.

PRICE, $1.25.

THE title would lead the reader to infer that it has somewhat to do with the subject of Slavery, and such is the case; its tendencies are powerfully against the institution. But it is, nevertheless, in the best sense, a Novel, and not merely an Anti-Slavery tract in disguise. The characters and scenes have a vividness which only genius can impart to ideal creations; and whoever commences the book will find his sympathies so strongly enlisted that he will be compelled to follow the fortunes of the charming heroine to the conclusion.

CASTE is not a 'sectional' book. Its blows fall as much upon Northern as upon Southern society. And while the vast majority will read the book for the

Intense Interest of the Story,

it will awaken thinking men to a new phase of the all-absorbing question.

NOTICES BY THE PRESS.

The plot is simple, and wrought with entire absence of exaggeration. But we have not read a book for many a day which took so strong a hold on the feelings, from the first page to the last. The delineation of negro character, though this forms but a small part of the story, or its aims, is admirable. The confiding and affectionate temper, the ready wit, the unaffected, natural piety, and the many beautiful traits of this oppressed race, are lightly but graphically touched upon; while the unfolding of the dearest affections, and of the love that is dearer than life, is full of an irresistible pathos, far more subduing than the bursts of eloquence scattered here and there, which, as points, tell very much in a story. * * * At this time, especially, this *eloquent champion of the right* must be heard, and we think it will help silently to strike off many chains riveted by custom and selfishness.—*New Bedford Mercury.*

It is remarkable as a genuine American romance; there is not a foreign element in it; it is American in its very idioms, in its scenes, characters, and local descriptions. * * * Although it is an anti-slavery story, yet the feelings of the author are not at all obtrusive, and Southern life is painted in *couleur de rose*; nothing could be more favorable to Southern manners and institutions than the scenes it describes; and they are so palpably truthful and life-like, that they could only have been written by one who has lived long in slaveholding States. * * * The story is wrought with great power, the characters most distinctly and forcibly drawn, and the happy denouement produced in the most natural manner. It only needed a tragic ending to have made it the most intensely absorbing romance of American life which has yet been written. But others may think differently, and would be better pleased to see the personages in whose fate their sympathies had been involved, placed in happy circumstances.—*N. Y. Courier.*

Frederick Douglass, who has 'been there,' and knows, says:—

'The book has a *reality* about it; one feels that the painting is *from life*. There are scenes of suffering that make the heart sick; pictures of sunny childhood and blissful love—all painted glowingly. It is a work more worthy of comparison with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* than any other of the kind we have seen; though wholly unlike in incident, it is like in truth and power.'—*F. Douglass's Paper.*

The language, without exception, is free from the stilted exaggeration known as 'fine writing'; the leading characters are distinctly individualized, and the prominent idea is adroitly worked out, without being overworked.—*N. Y. Daily Times.*

As a whole, 'Caste' is a captivating and powerful work, the plot original, well conceived, and admirably worked out. It cannot fail to prove a 'sensation book,' and find more readers even than the popular 'Ida May,' as it will be read more extensively at the South. No one who commences its perusal will lay it aside till the whole story is known. The author is evidently a practised writer, a close observer of men and things, and familiar with rural life at the South as well as at the North.—*Boston Transcript.*

It is written with power and pathos. The story is original, the incidents natural, and, indeed, as things now are, necessary. * * * We have no doubt of the success of this new book.—*National Era.*

It is distinctly original and novel, as if Ida May, or its predecessors, had never been written, and is strictly a novel, and not an anti-slavery tract disguised. True, its teachings are adverse to the institution of slavery; but the reader draws the inference; it is not suggested other than as his own deduction from the events described. It is finely written, interesting, and cannot fail to count its readers by thousands.—*Boston Atlas.*

Believing this to be a work of GENUINE MERIT, unexceptionable in its tone, graceful in style, and absorbing in interest, the publishers respectfully ask for it the attention of the reading community.

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Jan. 4. 2t

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SHALL we have your hearty coöperation in our efforts to place in the hands of every intelligent reader, these two books?—

I. The North-Side View of Slavery,

The Canadian Refugees' Own Narratives.

BY BENJ. DREW.

II. An Inside View of Slavery

—OR—

A TOUR AMONG THE PLANTERS.

BY DR. C. G. PARSONS.

It should be borne in mind, that these volumes are not works of fiction, or stories of the imagination, but true records of what these intelligent travellers saw with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears; and we challenge the world to disprove the truth of their averments. Mr. DREW went to Canada, and travelled from town to town, from cabin to cabin, and took down the statements which fell from the lips of the Refugees; and he has given them to the world, nearly verbatim, in this soul-stirring volume.

MEN AND WOMEN OF AMERICA! you may learn

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

WOMAN'S FUTURE.

BY ANNA GARDNER.

Traced on the wondrous, mystic scroll of Time,
God's blessed purposes enfolded lie;—
As age treads close on age, his truth sublime
Successively reveals its mission high.
Thus the great Law of Progress will make way
Through evil forms, made pure by martyrs' blood;
The highest seal of its divinity
Is suffering soul and sense, through fire or flood.

To woman's longing, apprehensive soul,
Has been revealed, in clear, supernal light,
The mighty Law, destined to shake the whole
Fabric of wrong, piled to colossal height.
That law is Freedom's,—broad-spread as the race,—
Not clipped or halved, to suit a sect or sex;
That undivided Law she would embrace
As of her future growth the true index.

Nor will she longer to the rule of Might
Unloath bow low—while alien Tyranny
Fastens upon her life the fearful blight,
The galling chain of mental slavery.
No longer shall she bate the latent power,
Pent up, enchained, struggling within her breast,
While unfledged thought, her spirit's richest dower,
Consumes its vital breath, all unexpressed.

But with the consciousness of inward might,
Accepting woman's heaven-appointed part,
Shall she go forth to battle for the Right,
In lofty faith—her ever-trusting heart,
Empanoplied in Truth, and strongly nerved
For steady conflict with the giant Wrong,
In whose dark reign the world too long has served,
And to whose mandate bowed a prostrate throng.

From out her spirit's depths new light shall flame,
As she essays, with introverted eye,
To scan the right, and with a worthy aim
To shape her life-plan by its dictates high.
As fearlessly she treads Truth's granite path,
With Love and Faith inwrought upon her shield,
The courage shall be hers who virtue hath,
Victoriously to tread life's battle-field.

Nor will she vainly struggle to be freed
From foul injustice, ignorance and wrong,
To make the world appreciate her need,
And cease to meet her claim with bitter scorn.
See ye not, merging from the shades of night,
The glorious dawning of a brighter day,
The Woman-soul, in garniture of light,
Casting behind her Custom's drapery?

Nor, deigning to accept the pseudo-view
Of false propriety the world has taught,
Or for its empty flattery to sue,
But daring to live out the boldest thought
God kindles in her self-reliant soul;—
Thus nobly shall she tread a higher plane,
A broader field of life,—and thus a goal,
Worthy *man's* highest efforts, shall attain.

Nantucket, Dec. 25, 1855.

For the Liberator.

THE SNOW-STORM.

In merry crowds, from the wintry clouds,
The starry snow-flakes floated;
They filled the air with a chilly glare,
The frozen ground was coated.

And all night long the glittering throng
December's air was cleaving;
Like shuttles they flew, across and through,
Earth's roundabout a weaving.

'Twas woven of frost, and sold at cost,
No garment e'er was cheaper;
So fleecy and white, so soft and light!
The Earth—how warm 'twill keep her!

All Saturday night! was ere such sight
As Sunday morning greeted?
Snow two feet deep; while folks were asleep,
The wonted paths had sheeted.

The Deacon appears with panting steers,
The lofty snow-banks scorning;
How he swings his goad as he breaks the road
On 'holy Sabbath morning!'

The sexton thinks 't no sin, with pants tucked in,
To shovel a path to meeting;
When he gets there, in anger he'll tear
The fugitive's 'Notice'—Greeting.

E'en Parson D. dons an old coatee,
His 'white choke' quite removing,
Pitches into the snow till all aglow—
Such Sabbath work approving.

With many a lurch he staggers to church,
And slippery understanding;
Steps, if he can, in the prints of a man—
A *precedent* demanding;—

Wades through the prayers on the pulpit stairs,
Which long have been descending,
Then fills up his tracks. All the small cracks
With more of the same a mending.

He hears not the wail the Southern gale
From cotton-fields is bearing,
Nor heeds the cry—'Oh God! let us die!'
From those the lash is tearing.

He only hath, in the bondman's path,
A snowy pile been heaping,—
The hardened ice of prejudice
On Freedom's way been keeping.

He will basely sift the cold snow-drift,
His God and manhood mocking,
'Fore the feet of the slave, the ruthless knave!
The track with bad laws blocking.

Has he not been, without smell of sin,
Shovelling snow o' Sunday?
But to break the chain, in Freedom's name,
He bids us wait till Monday.

He will not *then* wield shovel or pen,
No whit more than his pew does;
Will fetter his mother—no, only his *brother*,
The Union-saving Judas!

He can only see 'the powers that be,'
No Higher Law confessing,
All blind to the One, whose will, when done,
Brings man the richest blessing.

'God is not mocked,' though man be shocked,'
Jubilee day is dawning;
We will not heed the priest or his creed;—
Shovel a path for the morning! H. O. S.

From the Liberty Bell for 1856.

SONNETS.

IN MEMORY OF JOHN BISHOP ESTLIN.

I.

Years come and go, but our appointed task
Still lies before us—at our progress slow
We would not murmur, nor impatient ask
How long the way through which our steps must go;
Whither it leads, and what its flowers we know;
And on we would in patient courage move,
While round us shines the bright and rosy glow
Reflected from the guiding lights above!
But as we fain would ring a joyous chime
In Freedom's honor, as in by-gone time,
Alas! the notes in silence die away,
Or mournful on the ear their echoes swell,
As tones that should have pealed, clear, full, and gay,
Sink to the sadness of a funeral knell!

II.

The just man perisheth; but, oh, say not
None layeth it to heart: a mighty crowd
Gather in spirit round the hallow'd spot
Where sleep his ashes. There, together bowed,
The Slave, the Blind, the Poor, lament aloud
A friend and brother; men of different creeds
Grieve over one so graciously endowed,
And the remembrance of his life-long deeds
Of love and mercy rise, as perfume, strown
In lands wherein his face was never known.
I, too, would weep, but for the trembling words
His own hand traced; courage and hope they give.
This the example his whole life affords:
'Resign'd to die, or resolute to live!'*

ANNE WARREN WESTON.

Weymouth, Sept. 9, 1855.

* In the last letter I ever received from Mr. ESTLIN, written with the left hand, after the first attack of the disease of which he died, this line was quoted as expressive of his state of mind.

THE LIBERATOR.

THE ONE SUPREME OBJECT OF DEVOTION—HOW TO ATTAIN IT.

BOSTON, Dec. 27, 1855.

DEAR GARRISON:

I reverence Man, and worship God in Man. In proportion as human beings are elevated, will they be the true representatives of the All-Wise and Perfect.

To ennoble and perfect human nature has been the one governing thought of my life, the object of my entire devotion, for thirty years. In this one idea have I lived, moved, and had my being. From this standpoint have I looked upon all man's outward surroundings; to this test have I brought all maxims, customs and institutions.

The supremacy of Man over his Incidents has been the watchword of my life's conflict. Religions, creeds, governments, constitutions and books, I have valued only as I could see their adaptation to ennoble and perfect human nature. I have esteemed man and woman as subordinate and subservient to no power or thing outside of themselves. Humanity is to be held sacred, is never to be violated for any cause, nor sacrificed to any object. The head before the hat; the body before the coat; the Individual before the Church or State; Man before his Incidents.

Human nature is fearfully diseased—I would make it well; it is greatly deformed—I would make it beautiful; it is despised and trodden under foot—I would lift it up and make it honorable.

To this end I became a Teetotaller, a Non-Resistant, and an Abolitionist; because drunkenness, war, death-penalty and slavery necessarily tend to deform and degrade human nature. Subjection to the will of man is slavery; subjection to the will of God is liberty. The former is the law of death; the latter is the law of life. To rescue Humanity from the *arbitrary* rule of man, the dominion of violence and blood, and place it under the fixed law of God, the only law of life and health and harmony, is the mission of Love and Truth.

I love human beings, and would make them pure and perfect. They partake of the nature I bear; they seem beautiful and noble to me. They are capable of infinite love and tenderness, of a divine majesty and glory. Progress, eternal progress, is the law of their being; infinite purity, nobleness and happiness their destiny. To rescue them from the diseases that now deform and enfeeble their bodies and souls, to present nobler types of Manhood and Womanhood, have I spent the last twenty-five years of my life, in different countries and among different peoples, and written, printed and spoken much, in public and private.

To this end have I proposed and published a work on 'Marriage and Parentage,' in which is the gospel of God, the wisdom and power of God unto salvation, as I understand it. It is the result of twenty years of observation on human life, as it is manifested in the thousands of domestic circles in which I have been an inmate. Only in the sacred privacy of home can human nature be truly known and estimated. There, and only there, do men and women *live*. On the public arena, they *perform*.

I would live but to ennoble and beautify the nature I bear. Instead of living but to extol the Model Man of the Past, I would live but to hasten the advent of the Model Man of the Future. Instead of looking to and longing for the irrecoverable, dead Past, I would look to and labor for the coming, living, hopeful Future. The hope of the world is in the Future, not in the Past. The earth is yet to celebrate the coronation of her King and her Queen. I know no object so worthy my entire devotion as the elevation and perfection of Humanity.

To this end, I have proposed a course of three lectures on '*The Ante-Natal History and Rights of Children, and the Responsibilities of Parents.*' My object is to show the bearing of inherited conditions and tendencies on the character and destiny of individuals and nations, and the only process by which the type of Humanity can ever be improved, and this earth be honored and blessed by the presence of nobler men and women.

Every man and woman has a history before birth, and this ante-natal history is the true prophecy of the future life. If the facts of this ante-natal life of any human being were known, however inimical he may be to the welfare of society, we should be more inclined to pity than to reproach him for the wrongs and outrages he perpetrates. If children are organized, before birth, with tendencies to wrath and revenge, to falsehood, to deceit, to theft, to robbery, to murder, and to every crime, how can it be otherwise than that they should rush to where their natures lead? Though so little heeded, no period of our earthly existence is so vital to the welfare of individuals and society as the brief period preceding our birth. Ages of conflict, in this and in other spheres of life, may be required to recover from the effects of abuses perpetrated by parents upon their children before they were born.

Let the friends of Humanity and Progress look over the outline of these lectures, as presented in the following programme. I will deliver them in any place where it is wished, to classes of men or women, separately, or to both together, as shall be desired.

The terms on which I can deliver them can be arranged in each place, as shall be deemed most convenient to all concerned.

My address is—Care of Bela Marsh, 15 Franklin street, Boston, Mass.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

LECTURE I.

ANTE-NATAL HISTORY OF THE CHILD.

History of the child—
- In the Germ state.
- In the Embryo state.
- In the Fetal state.

Influences bearing on the child in each of these states.
Function of the male.
Function of the female.
How each stamps its characteristics on the child.
How the character and destiny, after birth, are affected by influences that bear on the child before birth.
History of the individual man or woman wrapped up in their ante-natal history.
Ante-natal history of Moses, Christ, Luther, Napoleon, Washington, slaveholders, drunkards.
History of a nation wrapped up in the ante-natal history of its individual members.

LECTURE II.

ANTE-NATAL RIGHTS OF CHILDREN.

Children have rights before birth—what are they?

1. *To a healthy body.*
   - How this right is violated.
   - Transmission of bodily diseases of both parents.
   - Results of transmitted diseases.
2. *To a healthy soul.*
   - What is the soul?
   - Whence is it?
   - How organized?
   - Its form, senses and sex.
   - Visible to the eye of the soul.
   - How the substance is supplied for its growth.
   - What articles of food are best adapted to the formation of a healthy soul?

IDIOCY. Its cause—Its only cure.
- Idiotic head, idiotic heart—which the greatest calamity.

INSANITY. Its cause—Its cure.
- Insanity of the intellect.
- Insanity of the moral nature.
- Influence of civilization and Christianity on idiocy and insanity.
- Natural results of alcohol, tea, coffee, tobacco, opium.
- Right to a soul rich in quantity and rich in quality.

3. *To a Love origin.*
   - God is Love.
   - The child's right to a Love-soul.
   - Love-child the only God-child.
   - The Love-child the only legitimate child.
   - The crime of giving existence to children without love: against the child—against society—against humanity.
   - A child with power to attract love and confidence.
   - A child without power to be attracted by love and kindness.
4. *To a premeditated, designed existence.*
   - Only the child of forethought can be rightly originated and organized.
   - How cautious and considerate men and women are in regard to acts that involve the destiny of their children after they are born!
5. *To a joyous welcome into life.*

The Welcome Child:
- How regarded by parents before birth.
- The husband's treatment of the wife during that period.
- The mother's treatment of herself.
- All things made subservient to the health and perfection of the unborn babe.

The Unwelcome Child:
- One on whose existence father and mother frown.
- The heart of a mother filled with murder towards her unborn babe.
- What must that child be?
- What crime so dark as that of giving existence to a child they do not want?

WRONG TO THE CHILD—
- Struggles into life against the spirit of murder.
- Discord and wrath organized into its very body and soul.

WRONG TO SOCIETY—
- Hatred, revenge, murder, piracy, and every crime, interwoven into the soul of the child as its birthright.
- Born to repel and be repelled.
- The devil-nature stamped into its organization as a constituent element of life.
- The very mother insures to her child the dungeon or the gallows.
- The ante-natal history of criminals.
- Man's greatest wrong to woman.

LECTURE III.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF PARENTS.

Parents responsible for the existence and number of their children—for their intellectual conditions—for their social and moral conditions—for all the sufferings, deaths and crimes that result from inherited conditions.
Criminal at the bar, in the dungeon, on the gallows—who placed him there?
Men and women generate murder, and hang the murderer; generate total depravity, and then punish the sinner with 'all the miseries of this life, the wrath of God, and the pains of hell for ever.'
If born with an innate propensity to hate God and man, who entailed on them this dreadful legacy?
If 'conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity,' who thus conceived and shaped them?
If they go astray from birth, 'speaking lies,' who started them on this career of falsehood?
If prone to sin as sparks fly upward, who gave them this proclivity to evil?
This ante-natal 'covenant with death and agreement with hell'—who compels them into it?
These ante-natal obstacles to the child's future perfection and happiness—who casts them in the way?
Hell the only portion by generation; heaven secured only by *re*-generation!
An innate ante-natal tendency to God and to heaven.
Its advantages over an inborn tendency to sin and wretchedness.
Duties owed to children before birth by parents, by society, by the church, by the state.

LETTER FROM JONATHAN WALKER.

WINOUSKI, Wis., Dec. 18th, 1855.

W. L. GARRISON:

DEAR FRIEND,—Will you allow the following letter an insertion in THE LIBERATOR, for the benefit of whom it may concern? My reasons for asking this favor are: 1st. I am often written to by individuals from various parts of the Eastern States, (many of whom are readers of THE LIBERATOR,) for information in relation to the condition, description, advantages, &c., of this section of the West. 2d. It has been very difficult for me to reply fully to all the questions of my correspondents, in single letters, in consequence of personal injury by accidents of late, which has for some length of time disabled me from writing. 3d. There may be others desirous of moving West, to whom the statements made here may be of service; for many who come this way experience disappointments and privations which cost them more than they can well afford, and to secure them from these may not be a work alien to the cause of humanity.

—

DEAR FRIEND S. M. B.:

Yours of the 9th is received, to which I reply, through the columns of THE LIBERATOR, (if permitted,) as fully as the circumstances will allow at present.

Having a personal knowledge of only a few counties in this part of the State, I shall not describe nor speak of any others.

The county of Sheboygan, in which I reside, is in latitude 43 deg. 45 min. north, and 88 west longitude; bounded on the east by Lake Michigan, south by Washington, north by Manitomac and Calumet, and west by Fond du Lac counties; all of which, except the western part of the last-named, are generally heavily timbered, and well watered by small lakes, springs and streams sufficient to supply many mills and machine shops, quite a number of which are now in operation.

The timber consists mostly of white, black and brown oak, rock maple, beach, bass, elm, and, in many parts, cedar, tamerick, white pine, and quite a variety of other woods. Sawed lumber is shipped from here to Chicago, and manufactured, such as chairs, wheels, &c., is shipped down the lakes to Ohio, Michigan, and New York. Sawed lumber is worth at the mills from eight to twelve dollars per 1000 feet.

Lands in this region are mostly fertile, but in some localities rough, and the pine lands are poor. Good unimproved lands are worth from three to six dollars per acre by the farm, say forty, eighty or more acres. Improved lands are worth the cost of improvement in addition to the first cost. No lands of any account in this region are owned by government; they have passed into the hands of speculators.

All kinds of grain and vegetables that grow in the New England States do well here; none, however, are sent out of the State, except wheat, oats and potatoes. As good wheat grows here as in any other part of the world, and for the last two years, has been selling at the farms for from one dollar to one dollar and thirty cents per bushel, and other provisions in proportion.

Stock of all kinds is high, except hogs, (and they have some associates on two legs.) Horses sell from $125 to $175; oxen, $90 to $120 a pair; cows, $30 to $40. The flow of emigration from the Eastern States and Germany keeps up the prices.

The climate here is about the same as that of the southern part of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, but with fewer violent gales and severe storms. It is as healthy in this section as any part of the Eastern States; but few localities are subject to the ague and fever, and those not much. Pure water is abundant, but, being impregnated with lime, (for limestone is also abundant,) it is hard for washing purposes.

The roads are generally poor in the timber regions, but much better on the openings and the prairies. A few plank roads are on the most frequented routes, and others are in course of construction. Only about two hundred miles of railroad are completed, and they are in the more Southern part of the State.

Counties adjoining those already named are mostly oak openings and prairies, and more level and fertile, but not so well watered; otherwise, better for farming purposes. The timber regions are better adapted to mechanical pursuits.

The means of transportation from here down the great lakes Michigan, Huron, Erie and Ontario are sufficient and cheap, seven or eight months in the year. The waters of these empty into the St. Lawrence river, to and from which navigation is extensive.

Labor of most kinds is a little dearer than in the Eastern States, while the expense of living is much less. Bread stuffs, fuel and shelter are far below the prices at the East at this time; neither does old mother Fashion lay so heavy a tax upon us.

The facilities for getting farming utensils, mechanics' tools, dry goods and groceries, are quite sufficient, at a small advance on Eastern prices. Post offices are also convenient in the most part of this county.

I would advise those desiring to move this way to come first themselves and see the country, if their circumstances will permit. They will then learn something of the mode and manner of getting here, which may be of advantage to them in the end.

In regard to society, we have nothing to boast of; yet, in some respects, it will bear a comparison with that of the older States. There are rough edges and sharp corners that need to be trimmed off; but that must be a work of time, with labor and patience.

You ask at what time of the year, and in what manner, you can get here best. These are questions of much importance, if you intend to come with goods and family; for many who start with funds sufficient, as they think, to carry them through, find, long before reaching their place of destination, that their dimes are all gone, and themselves subjected to expensive delays, or compelled to seek a home where they had not intended to do so; for rogues of all cloths, and impostors of various shades, beset them at all the stopping places and changes. But few who attempt to come on a cheap route do not find it dear in the end. Misrepresentations are liberally dealt out by those in office; and yet we have to place some confidence in strangers. The most dangerous routes, after starting from New York city or other Eastern depots, are Buffalo and Chicago.

If any single person is coming, with little or no baggage, it does not so much matter what time of the year or what route he may choose; but a removal with family and goods should be undertaken, if possible, in the latter part of April or May, or some time in the fall. The summer is not a bad time, except that there is more liability to sickness, in consequence of exposure to the warm weather, and the crowded state of cars and steamboats, in their filthy condition.

If you wish to come through in the quickest manner, procure a first-class ticket, and take as little baggage as you conveniently can, and look well to that at every change; for it is no uncommon thing for people to come here, having missed their baggage on the way, and after much time spent in search of it, have given it up for lost.

Have all the articles you design to bring packed in large stout boxes, plainly and fully directed to the place you intend to stop at, and take a bill of lading at the place of delivery. But if you prefer to take your goods with you, and travel on a cheaper route, go to Buffalo or Ogdensburg by canal, or in any other way you best can, or to some other port on the lakes, and then take passage through the great lakes on a propeller, where you will be likely to find better accommodations than in any other cheap mode of conveyance. Buy no second-class tickets, and engage no steerage passage, except you wish to be huddled up in the emigrant car, moving slowly along, and subject to much delay with the freight train, and exposure to the bad condition of deck passengers on the steamers. It often costs more to travel in that way than it does to go in the first-class cars and cabin passage. A pocket map of the State should be in the possession of every new comer; it will furnish important information.

There are other considerations which should not be overlooked, in leaving an old home for a new one in a comparatively new country; for the immigrant who is not imbued with a good degree of the pioneer spirit, is apt to find the change more unsatisfactory than he contemplated. To leave behind all our old associates and associations, which years of familiarity have given a strong hold upon our habits and feelings, and attempt to create others, among strangers in a strange land, is what many dispositions find it difficult to accomplish. The difficulty, however, may be much modified by several families of kindred habits, feelings and associations moving at or near the same time, to the same locality. This prevents, to some extent, the isolated and melancholy feelings that make life tedious and gloomy. But to those who only live to eat, drink and sleep, it matters but little where they are located, provided those objects are obtained.

This is not a bad section of the West for progressive minds to emigrate to, in order to associate together and coöperate to aid on the needed reforms of our age. This is fast becoming more central, and already our State has dared to disobey the powers that be at Washington. Fraternally, yours for human welfare,

JONATHAN WALKER.

COMMENDATORY NOTICES.

THE COLORED PATRIOTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, with sketches of several distinguished colored persons: to which is added a brief survey of the condition and prospects of colored Americans. By WILLIAM C. NELL. With an introduction by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Boston: Robert F. Wallcut.

This neat volume of nearly 400 pages is a very curious and interesting book, not only as regards the character of its contents, but as being the production of a young colored man, a native of and educated in Boston. It purports to be an effort to stem the tide of prejudice against the colored race, and to show that they are fit for something higher than the menial drudgery to which they are generally doomed.

Mr. Nell has gathered many interesting facts, and woven them together in a very effective manner. He has extended his researches into the local histories of seventeen of the States of the Union, and presents a great mass of testimony in behalf of the military services of the colored people, which will astonish those who have not heretofore given the subject a thought. He very properly commences with the story of Crispus Attucks, the mulatto who fell at the time of the 'Boston Massacre,' and records very many deeds of prowess, not forgetting, of course, those of the colored veterans at the battle of New Orleans. He has also embodied much information in the chapters on the condition and prospects of the Colored Americans, and in the Appendix. This volume is very creditable to the industry and intelligence of Mr. Nell, and to his race. It may be obtained at the bookstore of John M. Ives—price $1,25.—*Salem Register.*

THE COLORED PATRIOTS OF THE REVOLUTION, with sketches of several distinguished colored persons, &c. By WM. C. NELL. This is an unique and really interesting volume. The sketches it contains are well drawn, and its statements of fact carefully made and well-attested. The effect of its circulation will be to elevate the colored man in the estimation of his white brother, and to kindle in the breast of many a colored youth a consciousness of power to be a man in the fullest sense, notwithstanding the many hinderances in his path. *Robert F. Wallcut, Boston. For sale at the bookstores; Price* $1.25.—*Zion's Herald.*

This is a curious, interesting, and noticeable volume,—the contribution of a worthy and intelligent colored citizen of Boston to the vindication of his own race; demonstrating, by a striking and interesting collection of incidents, the patriotism, courage, intelligence and virtue of the colored citizens of the United States—showing that the first blood shed in the revolution flowed from veins covered by a colored skin; and that throughout that struggle, as attested by the testimony of Washington, the colored soldiery were ever reliable, and did yeoman service. It is a contribution creditable to its author's heart, and does no discredit to his intellectual accomplishments.—*Boston Atlas.*

DISTINGUISHED COLORED PERSONS. Mr. Wm. C. Nell has just issued a volume respecting 'The Colored Patriots of the American Revolution, with sketches of several distinguished colored persons, to which is added a brief survey of the condition and prospects of colored Americans. With an introduction by Harriet Beecher Stowe.' The volume contains much historical information in regard to the services of colored men, not only in the war of the Revolution, but in the conflict of 1812. The pages evince considerable research, and have a local interest in all the original States. We copy the title of the chapter devoted to Massachusetts:

Crispus Attucks—Colored Americans on Bunker Hill—Seymour Burt—Jeremiah Jonah—A Brave Colored Artillerist—Gov. Hancock's Flag—Big Dick—Primus Hall—James and Hosea Easton—Job Lewis—Jack Grove—Bosson Wright—Colonial Reminiscences—Phillis Wheatley—Paul Cuffee—Marshpee Indians—Action of the Constitutional Convention in regard to colored citizens—Facts indicating Improvement.

About a hundred pages are occupied with matter concerning this Commonwealth. The volume is for sale at Redding & Co.'s and J. P. Jewett & Co.'s.—*Boston Transcript.*

In the hundred volumes, filled with memoirs and recounting the chivalric deeds and patient sufferings of the white heroes of '76, how many lines are devoted to the memory of their colored compatriots? Not a dozen, we venture to say. While sculptured marble and costly mausoleum, raised by a grateful nation, mark the resting place of *our* illustrious dead, the legislature of Massachusetts refuse to erect a monument for the first martyr of the Ameriaan Revolution, who chanced to be a man of color. CRISPUS ATTUCKS is his name, but such is the prejudice against his race, that few of us recognize the sound—while the name of the humblest of white patriots is embalmed in the hearts of his countrymen, and enrolled in the history of his country. Revering as we do those who fought and bled in achieving our independence, we certainly should recognize the debt we owe to the colored few, who suffered in defence of a land not their own—who gained a liberty not for themselves. 'Bravery under such circumstances, has peculiar beauty and merit.'

Read this book, and learn that patriotism, courage, and talents are not confined to peculiar races, or complexion.—*New Bedford Standard.*

This work is, of course, thoroughly abolition, but it inspires us with some respect as a negro effort to vindicate the character of 'culled folks,' and to show that during the revolution, there were numbers of the Sons of Ham who fought bravely and intelligently in behalf of freedom. It is to be regretted, that in the heat of partizan warfare, of late years, the fact seems to have been entirely ignored that many colored men have been good and creditable citizens. We therefore commend this work to the perusal of the unprejudiced. It is beyond question highly interesting. Typography and binding excellent. Duod. pp. 396.—*Phil. Bulletin.*

This work is an enlargement—and an improvement as well—of a valuable pamphlet published by Mr. Nell several years ago, and which had gone entirely out of print. It is a record of striking facts, which, as they illustrate the important services rendered by colored men in the struggles of this nation with the mother country, it has too often been the policy of our white historians to ignore or conceal. Mr. Nell's industry in compiling this volume is equalled only by his modest estimate of the value of his labors. He deserves the thanks of every friend of impartial liberty, and his book should find a place in every anti-slavery household. It is well calculated to put our spurious Christianity and our sham Democracy alike to the blush of shame for the cruel prejudice against the colored people, to which they so insanely cling, and for denying to them the rights and privileges of manhood, and dooming them to social proscription and virtual outlawry in a land for whose deliverance from oppression their fathers freely shed their blood.—*A. S. Standard.*

This book should be owned by every abolitionist, and of course by every colored man. It gives the history of the colored patriots of the Revolution—and a thrilling history it is—one which makes the blood boil in the reader's veins, when he reflects that the descendants of these Revolutionary heroes are insulted and abused by the dominant power.—*Hartford Republican.*

This is, we presume, a labor of love in the writer. The services of colored men in the Revolution are worthy of more attention than has been paid to the subject. They were, wherever employed, good and faithful soldiers, and their blood upon many fields mingled with the vital streams which flowed from the hearts of white men who fought for the good cause. It is claimed that the first martyr to American liberty was Crispus Attucks, a colored man, who was killed in Boston, March 5th, 1770, at the time when what Englishmen call the 'King street mob,' was fired upon by British soldiers under Col. Prescott. This book contains much curious and interesting information in relation to the services and exploits of colored men throughout the Union. It has evidently been composed with much care, and contains a great deal of matter which will be new even to the great majority of historical students.—*Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch.*

The title of the native colored people of this country to be considered as 'men and brethren' of the whites, has been often contested by ungenerous men, who are willing to consider the negro as a 'person,' but reject his claims to citizenship. In this volume, the heroism which was displayed by some of the colored men whose blood mingled with that of their white compatriots, in the Revolution, is commemorated, together with the testimonials which those who lived in the times when the services of black men were neither rejected nor unrecognized, paid to the colored defenders of our country and homes. It is a timely work, well written, and full of historic facts of value to every reader. The author appends a brief survey of the Condition and Prospects of Colored Americans. Mrs. H. B. Stowe contributes a brief but pertinent Introduction, and Wendell Phillips also adds a favorable comment upon the character of the work. For sale by Dewey.—*Rochester Democrat.*

Mr. Nell has done good service to the cause of African elevation by this work. He shows conclusively that many of the worthiest and most self-sacrificing participants in the war that led to American Independence were colored men, whose aid at that period was gratefully received, and we may suppose fully appreciated. As Mrs. Stowe says in her Introduction to the work:—'It was not for their own land they fought, not even for a land which had adopted them; but for a land which had enslaved them, and whose laws, even in freedom, oftener oppressed than protected.' The history of such men should be more familiar to all who take an interest in securing to the colored race its rights, and hence we may hope that the industry and research of Mr. Nell may be rewarded by the wide circulation of his volume. From Crispus Attucks, of Massachusetts, the first martyr of the Revolution, to Tony Proctor, of Florida, the latest deceased of these colored patriots, their history and deeds are perspicuously set forth, and should call forth our respect and gratitude for their disinterested efforts. The essay on the condition and prospects of the colored race, which accompanies the volume, is suggestive of many thoughts in their behalf, being most ably written. The volume is neatly got up, and retails at $1 25.—*Boston Evening Telegraph.*

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Mr. Nell has not only done his race, but the whole community, good service in the preparation of this volume. It is right that the heroism and virtue of the colored men, who, in the 'times that tried men's souls,' were found in the ranks of battle fighting for the success of Freedom's cause, should be brought to the minds of those who are now enjoying the fruits of their labors and sacrifices. The biographies of the brave colored men here recorded, bear the most conclusive evidence that the colored race are in no respects inferior to the Anglo-Saxon in personal courage, or in their devotion to their country's welfare. The book possesses all the interest of a romance, and no one can read it without feeling that the prejudices against the colored race that exist in all American communities are undeserved, and that, with equal opportunities to attain to social position and intellectual culture, the African race would put many of their maligners and haters to the blush, by their rapid progress in knowledge, and by their devotion to all that is good and true. For sale by Z. Baker & Co.—*Worcester Spy.*

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